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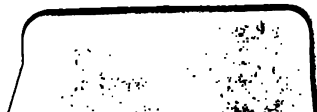




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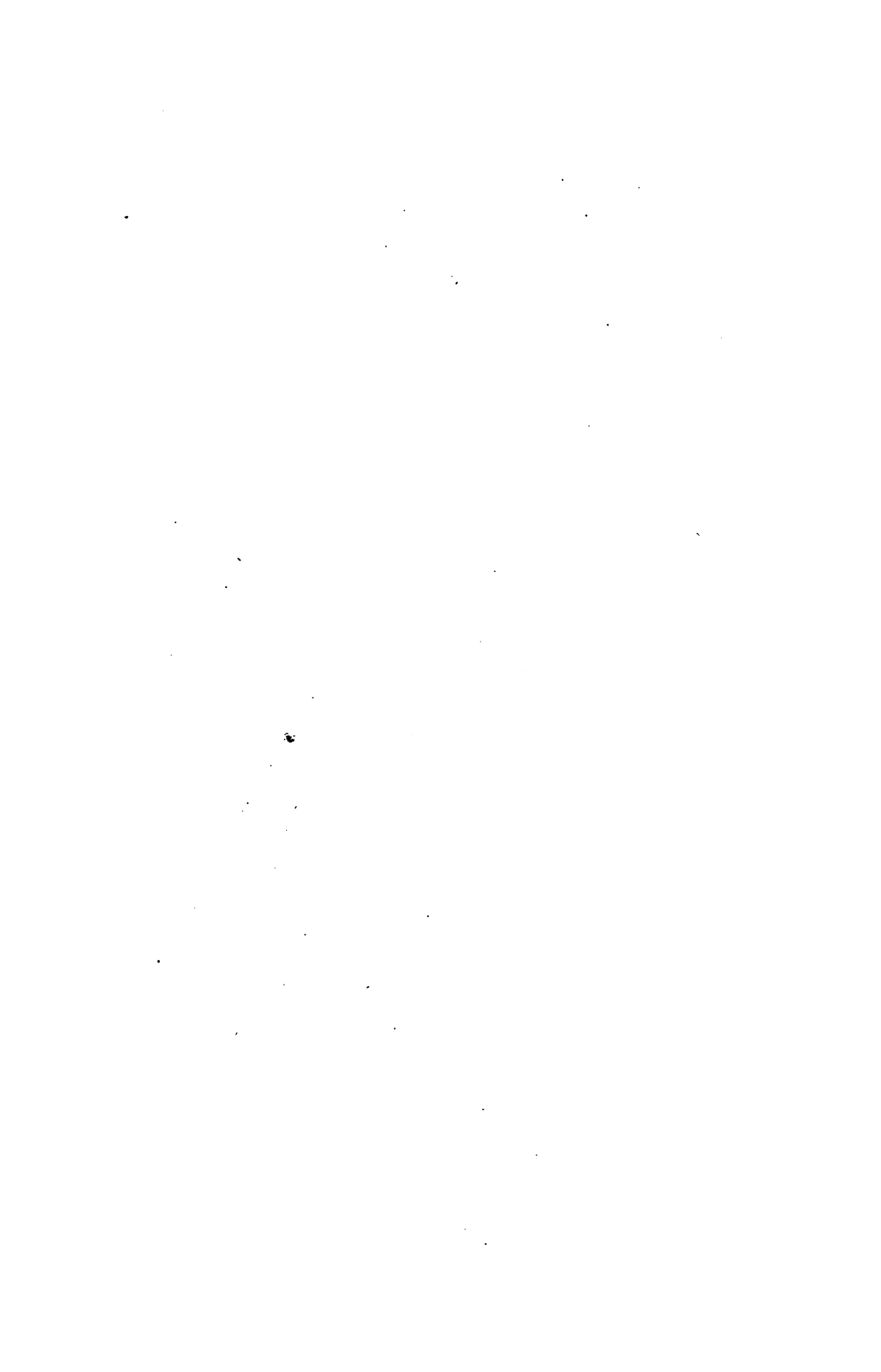


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JOHN MILTON:

HIS

LIFE AND TIMES,

RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL OPINIONS:

WITH

AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

ANIMADVERSIONS UPON DR. JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON, &c. &c.

BY JOSEPH IVIMEY,

AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH BAPTISTS," &c. &c.

"My veneration for our great countryman is equal to what I feel for the Grecian."—*Cooper.*

"In point of sublimity, Homer cannot be compared with Milton."—*Robert Hall.*

LONDON:

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P R E F A C E.

THE former biographers of MILTON have exhibited him principally in his character as a *poet*, but have obscured his features as a *patriot*, a *protestant*, and *non-conformist*. The writer has attempted to give an accurate and full-length portrait, in all those respects, of this most eminent of our countrymen. For the purpose of accomplishing this design, he has made considerable extracts from the *prose* writings of MILTON, by which, in a good degree, he appears as his own biographer.

In reference to the character of those works, he takes the liberty of quoting the sentiments of the present Bishop of Chester, who says:—

“ There is much reason for regretting, that the

prose works of MILTON, where, in the midst of much that is coarse and intemperate, passages of such redeeming beauty occur, should be in the hands of so few readers, considering the advantages which might be derived to our literature from the study of their original and nervous eloquence.”*

The prejudice which has existed against MILTON’s prose works, on account of his republican and dissenting principles, fully accounts for their having been so little known; but it is hoped that such feelings are rapidly subsiding, if they are not as yet become quite extinct. On this subject, the highly respectable writer just quoted says, in the same preface:

“ But in happier times, when it is less difficult to make allowance for the effervescence caused by the heat of conflicting politics, and when the judgment is no longer influenced by the animosities of party, the taste of the age may be safely and profitably recalled to those treatises of MIL-

* Preface to *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*.

TON, which were not written to serve a temporary purpose."

Correct as were these remarks eight years since, the writer considers them to be much more applicable to the present time, when the principles of civil and religious liberty which MILTON so powerfully advocated, have been approved by a majority of our legislature, obtained the sanction of so large a portion of our united empire, and produced such an astonishing reform in our representative body.

The uncereemonious manner in which MILTON has treated the episcopal bench will probably be disliked by some readers, as unnecessarily severe, and extremely uncourteous. Let such persons, however, recollect the unconstitutional and persecuting practices of Laud and some of his brethren in the Star-chamber, and their servile compliances in supporting arbitrary power in Charles I., and they may perhaps be inclined to moderate their censures, if not to change their opinion.

As to the determined efforts of MILTON to prevail with the Parliament to abolish tithes, and to leave the established clergy to depend for support upon the voluntary contributions of their respective parishioners, his reasoning has a better prospect of being regarded at the present than at any former period since his treatises were published. It may probably too give weight to his recommendations, that his remarks applied to *Presbyterian*, and not to *Episcopal* "hirelings." His objection was to the system of tithes, because he considered it directly opposed to the genius of Christianity, and as being injurious to the spiritual interests of the nation.

An earnest desire that the religious and political sentiments of MILTON should be justly appreciated, led the writer to undertake this work; and also that his Christian integrity, manifested under all the changes through which he passed from 1640 to 1674, on account of the extraordinary revolutions of that period, should be held up as an example worthy of universal imitation. It will however be found, that the veneration which he entertains

for the character of MILTON, has not led him to overlook his faults, nor to palliate his errors.

Another reason which prevailed with the writer was, that the Lives of MILTON have usually been so large and expensive, that they have been placed out of the reach of the generality of readers; he therefore hopes that a small volume, comprising every thing of importance respecting this noble-minded and gigantic man, will not be unacceptable nor unprofitable to the bulk of his countrymen.

The writer cannot anticipate that the sentiments stated in his work will be universally acceptable; but if they be approved by that large body of Britons who contend for liberty as their birth-right, and especially by Protestant Dissenters, it is as much as he can expect. It is a little singular, that no writer of the latter class has ever published the life of this early and powerful defender of their principles, notwithstanding it is to his powerful advocacy that they are indebted, more than to any other writer, for all the civil

and religious privileges which they now enjoy. From his Memoirs having been written by Churchmen, who must have necessarily disapproved of his opinions, it is not wonderful that he should have been charged with employing "coarse and intemperate," "rude and insulting language." Let the reader however recollect the period at which his treatises were written, when polemics were not remarkably nice in their selection of epithets; and let him consider too the extreme importance of the subjects of which they treat—the welfare of the church of Christ, and the deliverance of the nation from civil and religious tyranny—and he may probably be inclined to judge more favourably of the strong and caustic terms which he has sometimes employed for the purpose of satirizing and exposing gross impositions and oppressive corruptions. His blunt and biting style exposed him to great opposition and reproach; but he evidently indulged self-gratulation, from the reflection that he had always accustomed himself to what he called "this just and honest manner of speaking." The following beautiful description of Truth is a specimen:—

In his "*Areopagitica*," published 1644, he says: "Truth, indeed, came once into the world with her Divine Master, and was a perfect shape, most glorious to look upon; but when he ascended, and his apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of Deceivers, who, as that story goes of that wicked *Typhon* with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good *Osiris*, took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear imitating the careful search which *Isis* made for the mangled body of *Osiris*, went up and down, gathering up every limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor ever shall do till her Master's second coming. He shall bring together every joint and member, and shall mould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection."

In the "Animadversions upon Johnson's Life of MILTON" in the Appendix, there will be found a degree of severity merited, the writer thinks,

ERRATA.

Page 202, *for* Monk, *read*, Milton.

**— 315, *for* Archbishop, *read*, Bishop of Oxford, or
Archdeacon of Canterbury.**

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* The writer, by mistake, has in this Chapter used the name of Hume instead of Smollett.

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LIFE OF MILTON.

CHAPTER I.

1608—1640.

THIS most extraordinary man, this prince of English poets, this consistent champion of civil and religious liberty, was the son of John Milton and Sarah Caston; they had two other children, ANNA, who married Edward Philips; and CHRISTOPHER, bred to the common law.

MR. JOHN MILTON was born in Bread-street, in the City of London, December 9, 1608,* descended of an ancient family of that name at *Milton*, near Abingdon, in Oxfordshire, where it had been a long time settled, as appears from the monument still to be seen in the church of *Milton*; till one of the family having taken the unfortunate side in the contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, was sequestered of all his estate, except what he held by his wife. The

* "The 20th day of December, 1608, was baptised John, the son of John Mylton, scrivener."—*Extract from the Registry of All-hallows, Bread-street.*

poet's grandfather, whose name also was John Milton, was under ranger, or keeper, of the forest of Shotover, near Horton, in Oxfordshire, he being a zealous papist. His father was a polite man, a great master of music, and, by profession, a scrivener, in which calling, through his diligence and honesty, he got a competent estate in a short time; for he was disinherited by his bigoted parents for embracing the Protestant religion, and abjuring the popish idolatry. He lived at the sign of the Spread Eagle, (the armorial bearings of the family,) in Bread-street. Of his mother, it is said, "she was a woman of incomparable virtue and goodness." JOHN MILTON was destined to be a scholar: and partly under domestic tutors, (whereof one was THOMAS YOUNG,* to whom the first of his familiar letters is inscribed; and afterwards, Dr. GILL, the chief master of Paul's School, to whom, likewise, the fifth of the same letters is inscribed,) he made an incredible progress in the knowledge of words and things, his diligence and inclination outstripping the care of his instructors; and after he was twelve years of age, such was his insatiable thirst for learning, that he seldom went to bed before midnight. Being thus initiated into several

* He was afterwards chaplain to the English merchants at Hamburgh. His pupil dedicated a poem to him. Aubrey calls him "a Puritan in Essex, who cutt his hair short."

tongues, and having not slightly tasted the inexpressible sweets of philosophy, he was sent, at the age of fifteen, to Christ's College, in Cambridge, to pursue more arduous and solid studies.

In the same year he gave several proofs of his early genius for *poetry*. His first essay was to translate some psalms into English verse, whereof the 114th thus commences :

“ When the bless'd seed of *TERAH*'s faithful son,
After long toil their liberty had won ;
And past from *Pharian* fields to *Canaan* land,
Led by the strength of the Almighty's hand ;
Jehovah's wonders were in *Israel* shown,
His praise and glory was in *Israel* known.”

In his seventeenth year, he wrote a handsome copy of verses on a child of his sister, who had died of a consumption. In this year also he composed a Latin Elegy on the death of the Bishop of WINCHESTER, and another on that of the Bishop of ELY ; and about the same time he composed his fine poem on the Gunpowder Treason Plot. Of these juvenile productions MAROHOFF* says : “ That MILTON's writings show him to have been a man from his childhood ; and that these poems are exceedingly above the ordinary capacity of that age.”

He spent seven years at Cambridge, “ where he lived with great reputation, and was generally be-

* In his *Polyhistor Literatarius*.

loved. But having obtained the degree of Master of Arts, in 1632, and performed his exercises with much applause; he left the university ; for he aimed not at any of those learned professions that require a longer stay in that place." Some of his academic performances are still extant among his occasional poems, and at the end of his familiar letters. He was now twenty-four years of age. From this time till 1637 he lived at his father's house at Horton, near *Colebrook*, in Buckinghamshire : here he had full opportunity to peruse all the Greek and Latin writers. He was not, however, so much in love with solitude but that he frequently visited London for the purpose of purchasing books, and to meet his old friends from the university ; or to learn something new in the mathematics, or in music, in which he extraordinarily delighted. It was during this period that he wrote, while in London, the Latin Elegy to his intimate friend CHARLES DIODATI, wherein were some verses which expressed his preference of the pleasures of London to the drudgery of the university. " It was on this account," says Toland, " that some persons, no less ignorant than malicious, afterwards took a handle to assert, that he was either expelled for some misdemeanour from Cambridge, or that he left it in discontent, because he obtained no preferment ; or that he spent his time in London with lewd women, or at the

play-houses ; but," he adds, " the falsity of this story we shall in due place demonstrate."

His first work of consequence was written and enacted in 1634. This was his "Comus," entitled a " A Maske, presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, on Michaelmass night, before the Right Honourable John, Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackly, Lord President of Wells, and one of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Counsell.*" In the year 1637 he wrote the inimitable poem called " Lycidas," of which the manuscript is still preserved in the Egyptian Library, Trinity College, Cambridge.

The death of his mother happened about this time, so that he felt himself at liberty to carry into effect his favourite object ; and having obtained his father's consent, he resolved to make the tour of Europe. His reason for wishing to travel in foreign countries, is quaintly expressed by Toland, to have been a persuasion, " that he could not better discern the pre-eminence or defects of his own country, than by observing the customs and institutions of others ; and that the study of never so many books, without the advantages of conversation, serves either to render a man a stupid fool, or an insufferable pedant."

* " *London : printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the sign of the Three Pigeons, in Paul's Church Yard. 1637.*"

In 1638 he went to France, accompanied by a servant, but by no *tutor*: "For," says his biographer, "such as still need a pedagogue are not fit to go abroad: and those who are able to make a right use of their travels, ought to be the free masters of their own actions, their good qualifications being sufficient to introduce them into all places, and to present them to the most deserving persons."

It affords full proof of the high respectability of the character of MILTON, that he was favoured with an elegant letter of direction and advice from the famous SIR HENRY WOTTON, who was a long time ambassador from James the First to the Republic of Venice. When he arrived at Paris, he was most kindly received by the English ambassador, Lord Scudamore, who recommended him to the famous GROTIUS, who was then ambassador to the French court, from CHRISTINA, queen of Sweden. From France he proceeded to *Italy*, where, after having passed through many noted places, he came at length to *Florence*: "A city, for the politeness of the language, and the civility of the inhabitants, he always after infinitely admired." In this city he staid about two months, and was daily assisting at those learned conferences which they held in their private academies, according to the laudable custom of Italy, both for the improvement of letters, and the maintaining of friendship. "During this time he con-

tracted an intimate acquaintance with several ingenious men: "most of whom," says Toland, "have since made a noise in the world, and deserve a mention in this place; I mean GADDI, DATI, FRESCOBALDI, FRANCINI, BONMATTEI, COLTELLINO, CHIMENTELLI, and several others. With these he kept up a constant correspondence, particularly with CAROLO DATI, a nobleman of *Florence*, to whom he wrote the tenth of his familiar letters."

From *Florence* he went next to *Rome*, where he resided two months, and witnessed the miserable remains of that once famous city, the mistress of the world. "And," says Toland, "deservedly so; being then not only the fairest place under heaven, but, until the ambition of a few persons had corrupted her equal government, she extended liberty and learning as far as the glory of her name and the terror of her arms. Here, no doubt," remarks his biographer, "all the examples which he had read of the virtue, eloquence, wisdom, and valour of her ancient citizens, occurred to his mind; and must have oppressed his generous soul with grief, when he saw *Rome*, the chief seat of the most exquisite tyranny, exercised by effeminate priests, not governing the world by the opinion formed of their justice, or power, being afraid of their courage, (for to these qualities they are known and sworn enemies,) but deluding men

with unaccountable fables, and terrifying them by imaginary fears; filling their heads with superstition, and filling their own pockets with the money of their credulous votaries."

At Rome MILTON made the acquaintance of several eminently learned men, as the celebrated LUCAS HOLSTENIUS, the librarian of the Vatican, who showed him great politeness, and permitted him to read all the Greek authors under his care. This gentleman presented him to Cardinal BARBERINI, who, at an entertainment of music performed at the Cardinal's expense, sought him out in the crowd, and gave him a kind invitation to visit him. He likewise commenced a friendship with the poet, GIOVANNI SALSILLI.

Having departed from *Rome* he went to Naples, and was introduced by his fellow-traveller, a hermit, to GIOVANNI BATTISTA MANSO, Marquis of Villa, a person most nobly descended, who accompanied MILTON round the city, showing him all the remarkable places in it, and visited him often at his lodging. He also composed a Latin distich, which he addressed to MILTON:

*" Ut mens forma, decor, facies, mos; si pietas sic,
Non Anglus, verum, Herclè, Angelus ipse fores."*

" Did your piety equal your talents, form, countenance, grace, and manners,—you were not so much an Englishman, by Hercules, as an angel.

The exception, in regard to his piety, relates to

MILTON being a Protestant, and to the courage with which he had avowed, and doubtless defended, his principles. The marquis, indeed, told him, "he would have done him many other good offices, had he been more reserved in matters of religion." From this very brief mention of the frankness and courage of our Protestant poet, we may safely infer that his mind was at this time well informed as to the all-important principles of Protestantism, and that he felt a detestation of the idolatrous principles and superstitious practices of the Antichristian Church of Rome. It is fair to infer also, that his courageous conduct, even in the city upon seven hills, where Antichrist was seated in all his glory, and where his flattering, cringing sycophants were shouting, "who is like unto the Beast?" arose from his heart having been renewed by the Holy Spirit of God; for one can scarcely conceive it possible that any other principle than that of the fear of God having been put into his heart, could have produced such fearless confidence and such dauntless zeal. In return for the many favours which MILTON had received from a person of MANSO's rank, he presented him, at his departure from *Naples*, notwithstanding the cautious scruples by which this kindness was qualified, with an incomparable Latin eclogue, entitled *Mansus*; which is extant among his occasional pieces.

He had intended, and was making preparations

to pass over into Sicily and Greece, when he was recalled by the sad news of a civil war beginning at home; and "deeming it a thing," says his nephew Philips, "unworthy of him to be diverting himself in security abroad, when his countrymen were contending with an insidious monarch for their liberty, he resolved to give up his further travels, and, with his noble compatriots, to "jeopard his life on the high places of the field."

Before returning to England, however, he made up his mind again to visit Rome, though he was advised by some merchants to the contrary; for they had learned from their correspondents, that the *English Jesuits* were framing plots against him, on account of the great freedom he used in his conversations on the subject of religion. He therefore resolved not to commence any disputes with the Papists, but was determined, whatever might happen, not to dissemble his sentiments. He went again to the city of Antichrist, and continued there two months, neither concealing his name, nor declining to defend openly the truth, under the Pope's eye, when any thought fit to attack him; and notwithstanding his danger, he returned safely to his friends at *Florence*. Toland remarks, in connexion with the above statement: "I forgot all this while to mention, that he paid a visit to GALILEO, then an old man, and a prisoner in the Inquisition, for thinking con-

trary in astronomy, than pleased the Dominican and Franciscan friars."

Having spent two months more in *Florence*, and visited *Lucca*, *Bononia*, and *Ferrara*, he arrived in safety at *Venice*. Here he spent one month; and shipping off all the books which he had collected in his travels, he came through *Verona*, *Milan*, crossed the Alps, and proceeded by the lake *Leman* to *Geneva*. In this city he contracted an intimate acquaintance with GIOVANNI DIODATI, a noted professor of divinity, and became well known to several other eminent men; particularly to the celebrated critic and antiquary, EZEKIEL SPANHEMIUS, to whom he wrote the seventeenth of his familiar letters. So leaving *Geneva*, and passing again through *France*, after one year and three months' travels, he returned safely to England, arriving at home about the time that king CHARLES the FIRST made his second expedition against the Scotch.

The reader will have observed the proofs of the high-minded Protestant, which have been briefly stated, in the conduct of this noble youth—for he was scarcely more, being now only thirty-two years of age;—and if the reader is well acquainted with the state of society at that time, as regarded the Established Church of England, when *Laud** was persecuting the Puritans with

* "Laud's superstition," says Mr. Wilson, Appendix, 517,

such relentless and unheard of cruelties, for daring to refuse worshipping the golden image of episcopacy which the king had set up;—if he is acquainted, too, with the numerous instances in which this Arminian prelate sympathised with Popery; and how fast the Church of England was going back towards Rome, both in her ceremonies and the new exposition of her articles;—if he know, also, how tyrannical were the decisions of the star-chamber and high-commission courts, in reference to any thing which approached to the assertion of either civil or religious liberty, he will then form some conception of the danger into which MILTON voluntarily ran, by returning at such a time to his beloved native country;

“however offensive to common sense, was tolerable, when named with his cruelties. These chill the blood with horror. No man, possessed of the common sympathies of human nature, can read the sufferings of Prynne, Lilburn, Burton, Bastwick, and Leighton, without being satisfied that the monster’s heart was steeled against every feeling of humanity. These severities occasioned numbers to leave the kingdom, until the king ordered that none should depart without the permission of this miscreant.” This witness is true; and to this I add, what proved to be the most marvellous providence, that Laud prevented Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden, and other patriots from going to America, to which they had made up their minds, and had actually embarked, in order to transport themselves, but an order of council prevented them. The excellent Dr. Owen, too, would have gone, but for the same prevention.

indicating a spirit similar to that displayed by the brave men who perished at Thermopylæ and Marathon; or, like the few noble citizens of Calais, who devoted themselves to perish, in order to save their fellows from destruction! This was indeed to manifest the true Protestant, and the true patriot. Courage and philanthropy indeed! which nothing short of "being valiant for the truth," even when fallen to the earth, and trampled beneath the feet of contemptuous men, could sustain: which the votaries of high church, with their half papistical dogmas, flitting in the sun of courtly prosperity, could no more have displayed, than they could have emulated his powerful intellect; to have even attempted which, would only have manifested their folly, and exposed themselves in their spleen to the fate of Esop's "Proud Frogs."

CHAPTER II.

1640—1644.

ARRIVING in London, as soon as he had received the congratulations of his friends and acquaintances, he hired a handsome lodging in St. Bride's Court, Fleet Street, at the house of Mr. Russel, a tailor, which might be an asylum for himself, and a safe depository for his library, in those uncertain and troublesome times. He soon after removed to Aldersgate-street, at the end of the passage, where he also commenced his work of tuition.* Whilst absent from England, his dearest friend and school-fellow, CHARLES DIODATI,

* Toland is very angry that some persons, "mean tutors in a university," in order to reproach Milton, had called him a *schoolmaster*. Not to interrupt the course of my narrative, I throw the *vindication* of Milton, by his biographer, into a note:—"But to return to his lodgings, where we had left him. There, both to be used in the reading of the best authors, and to discharge his duty to *his sister's sons*, that were partly committed to his tuition, he undertook the care of their education, and instructed them in *Latin, Greek, and Hebrew*, and other oriental dialects: likewise in several parts of

had been removed by death; and for a long time he continued inconsolable on that account. This

the mathematics, in cosmography, history, and some modern languages, as *French* and *Italian*. Some gentlemen of his intimate friends, and to whom he could deny nothing, prevailed on him to impart the same benefits of learning to their sons; especially since the trouble [of teaching the Latin] was no more with many than with few. He that well knew the greatest persons in all ages to have been delighted with teaching others the principles of knowledge and virtue, easily complied; nor was his success unanswerable to the opinion which is generally entertained of his capacity. And not content to acquaint his disciples with those books that are commonly used in the schools, whereof several, no doubt, are excellent in their kind, though others are as trivial or impertinent, he made them, likewise, read in *Latin* the ancient authors concerning husbandry; as *Cato*, *Varro*, *Columella*, and *Palladius*; also *Cornelius Celsus* the physician; *Pliny's* Natural History; the architecture of *Vitruvius*; the stratagems of *Frontinus*; and the philosophical poets, *Lucretius* and *Manilius*. To the usual Greek books, as *Homer* and *Hesiod*, he added *Aratus*, *Dionysius Periegetes*, *Oppian*, *Quintus Calaber*, *Appolonius Rhodius*, *Plutarch*, *Xenophon*, *Ælian's* Tactics, and the stratagems of *Polyænus*. It was this greatest sign of a good man in him, and the highest obligations he could lay upon his friends, *without any sordid or mercenary purposes*, that gave occasion to his adversaries with opprobiously terming him a *schoolmaster*," &c. &c. It is humorous to find his *high church*, pamphleteering university opponents, fixing upon *such* a charge as a matter of reproach! One amuses oneself in thinking, how many there might have probably been of these "jolly, plump, well-fed city dogs," whose "master fed them well, and brought the food himself, only on condition of their

even is commemorated by him in an eclogue, in the most pathetic strains that affectionate sorrow could suggest.

The state of the nation at this time he thus describes: "On my return from my travels, I found all mouths open against the Bishops; some complaining of their vices, and others quarrelling with the very order: and thinking, from such beginnings, a way might be opened to true liberty, I hastily engaged in the dispute, as well to rescue my fellow-citizens from slavery, as to help the Puritan ministers who were inferior to the Bishops in learning."* One of his biographers, Birch, says: "His zeal for liberty in general therefore engaged him in a warm opposition to episcopal authority. He, in the first place, published two books on the Reformation from Popery, which were dedicated to a friend. In the first of these he proved, from the reign of Henry the Eighth, what had all along been the real impediments in the kingdom to a perfect Re-

being tied up a day, and that to make them tame; and at night, just to guard the house and keep it from thieves." Who among them, even if they had been qualified, would have undertaken, upon Milton's *terms*, to have been his assistant? If Milton was poor and unknown, he had no "*crease* in his neck."—See Esop's Fable, No. xix.

* In a volume, entitled "Clarendon and Whitlocke compared," published in 1727, the author having repelled (p. 81) the mean and unsupported assertion of Clarendon, who has

formation. These he reduces to two heads; the first, the popish ceremonies which had been retained in the protestant church; and the second, the power of ordination to the ministry having been confined to diocesan Bishops, to the exclusion of the choice of ministers by the suffrages of the people. 'Our ceremonies,' he says, 'are senseless in themselves,

said, "I am confident there was not, from the beginning of the Parliament, one orthodox or learned man recommended by them (the Assembly) to the Church of England," proceeds to mention some: four of them, who, after the Restoration, accepted of bishopricks—Dr. Seth Ward, Dr. John Gaudin, Dr. John Wilkins, and Dr. Edward Reynolds; also, Drs. John Conant, Cave, Usher, Gataker, Tuckney, Lightfoot, Wincop, Gouge, Twisse, Manton, Bolton, Pool, Jacomb, and Bates. Of the latter of these the writer (the author of the Critical History of England) remarks: "Dr Bates, for learning, eloquence, beauty of thought, style, and life, is without parallel, except we might compare with him his fast friend, the Most Reverend Dr. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury. When such men as these are characterised, as by Lord Clarendon, *seditious* and *schismatical*, what must we think of those that are, in the same page, perhaps, termed *orthodox* and *pious*! Besides the deficiency here as to *truth*, how deficient is it in *charity*! How different from those truly orthodox Fathers and Pastors of our Church, who maintained a brotherly temper with scrupulous Protestants, after the *Uniformity Act* had made their religion what the Earl makes it—*schism* and *sedition*! I was infinitely pleased," adds this writer, "with a certificate, signed as follows: (Calamy, vol. ii. p. 10.) *John Tillotson, Benjamin Whitchcock, Edward Stillingfleet, Matthew Pool, Thomas Gouge.*"

and serve for nothing else but either to facilitate our return to Popery, or to hide the defects of better knowledge, and to set off the pomp of prelacy.' As a specimen of his style and manner, I extract a few paragraphs:—

“Sir,—Amidst those deep and retired thoughts, which, with every man, Christianly instructed, ought to be most frequent, of *God*, and of his miraculous *ways* and *works* amongst men, and of our *religion* and *works*, performed to him; after the story of our Saviour *Christ*, suffering to the lowest bent of weakness in the *flesh*, and presently triumphing to the highest pitch of *glory* in the spirit, which drew up his body also, till we, in both, be united to him, in the revelation of his kingdom: I do not know of any thing, to take up the whole passion of pity on the one side, and joy on the other, than to consider, first, the foul and sudden corruption, and then, after many a tedious age, the long deferred but much more wonderful and happy reformation of the *Church* in these latter days.” Speaking of the Popish corruptions, he thus satirizes them: “They hallowed it, [religion,] they fumed it, they sprinkled it, they bedeck’t it, not in robes of pure innocency, but of pure linen, with other deformed and fantastic dresses, in palls and mitres, gold and giegaws, fetched from *Aaron’s* old warehouse, or the *Flamin’s* Vestry; there was the Priest sent to *con his motions*, and

his *postures*, his *Liturgies*, and his *Lurries*, till the soul, by this means of embodying herself, given up justly to fleshly delights, bent her wing apace downward; and finding the ease she had from her visible and *sensuous* colleague, the body, in the performance of *religious* duties, her pinnions now broken and flagging, shifted off from herself the labour of high-soaring any more, forgot her heavenly flight, and left the dull and droyling carcass to plod on in the old road, and drudging trade of outward conformity."

He thus describes Wicklif's preaching, "at which," he says, "all the succeeding *reformers* more effectually lighted their *tapers*;" who "was to his countrymen a short blaze, soon damp't and stiff'd by the *Pope* and prelates for six or seven kings' reigns."

To prove that the Reformation owed nothing to the Prelates, he says: "And for the *Bishops*, they were so far from any such worthy attempts, as that they suffered themselves to be the common stiles to countenance, with their prostituted gravities, every politick fetch that was then on foot, as oft as the potent *statists* pleased to employ them. To bring down the Protector, [Somerset,] LATIMER was employed to defame him with the people; who else, 'twas thought, would take ill the innocent man's death, unless the reverend bishop could assure them there was no foul play."

“As for the queen herself,” (Elizabeth,) he says, “she was made believe, that, by putting down *Bishops*, her *prerogative* would be infringed; and why the *Prelates* laboured, it should be so thought, ask not them, but ask their bellies. They had found a good tabernacle; they sate under a spreading vine; their lot was fallen in a fair inheritance.”

“To the votaries of *antiquity*,” he says, “I think I shall have fully answered, if I shall be able to prove out of antiquity, first, that if they will conform our *Bishops* to the purer times, they must mow their feathers, and their pounces, and make but curb-tailed bishops of them; and we know they hate to be dockt and clipt, as much as to be put down outright. Secondly, that those poorer times were corrupt, and their books corrupted; save often, thirdly, that the best of those that then wrote, disclaim that any man should repose on them, and send all to the scriptures.”

“Then flourished the church,” says he, “with *Constantine’s* wealth; and therefore were the effects that followed: his son *Constantius* proved a flat *Arian*, and his nephew *Julian* an apostate; and there his race ended. The church, that before, by insensible degrees, walked and impaired, now with large steps, went downhill, decaying; at which time, *Antichrist* began first to put forth his horn, and that saying was common, that former times

had wooden chalices and golden *priests*, but they golden chalices and wooden *priests*."

The second book on Reformation begins thus:—

"Sir,—It is a work, good and prudent, to be able to guide one man; of larger extended virtue, to order well one house; but to govern a nation piously and justly, which only is to say happily, is for a spirit of the greatest size and the divinest mettle.

"Now for their second conclusion,—*That no form of church government is agreeable to Monarchy, but that of Bishops*; although it fall to pieces of itself, by that which hath bin said; yet, to give them play, front and rear, it shall be my task to prove that Episcopacy, with that authority which it challenges in *England*, is not only not agreeable, but tending to the destruction of monarchy."

As a proof of the pious spirit which he manifested in writing this work, take the following most scriptural prayer; containing, as the reader will perceive, distinct addresses to each person in the ever blessed Trinity in Unity. "Thou therefore that sitst in light and glory unapproachable, Parent of angels and men! Next, Thee I implore, Omnipotent King, Redeemer of that lost remnant, whose nature thou didst assume; ineffable and everlasting Love! And Thou, the third subsistence of Divine Infinitude, Illuminating Spirit, the joy

and solace of created things, One tri-personal Godhead,—look upon this, thy poor, and almost spent and expiring *church*; leave her not thus a prey to those importunate wolves, that wait and think long, till they devour thy tender flock; these wild boars that have broken into thy vineyard, and left the prints of their polluted hoofs upon the souls of thy servants. O let them not bring about their damned designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watchword, to let out those dreadful *locusts* and *scorpions*, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the *Sun* of thy *truth* again, never hope for the cheerful dawn, never more hear the bird of morning sing. Be moved with pity at the afflicted state of this our shaken *monarchy*, that now lies labouring under her throes, and struggling against the grudges of more dreadful calamities.”

It is gratifying to hear him thus state the purity of his motives in this admirable work. “And herewithal I invoke the *immortal* DEITY, *reveler* and *judge* of hearts, that wherever I have in this BOOK, plainly and roundly (though worthily and truly) laid open the faults of *Fathers*, *Martyrs*, or Christian *Emperors*; or have otherwise inveighed against error and superstition, with vehement expressions; I have done it, neither out of malice, nor lust to speak evil, nor any vain glory,

but of mere necessity, to vindicate the spotless *truth* from an ignominious bondage, whose native worth is now become of such low esteem, that she is like to find small credit with us for what she can say, unless she can bring a ticket from *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Ridley*; or prove herself a retainer to *Constantine*, and wear his badge. More tolerable it were for the church of God, that all those names were utterly abolisht, like the *Brazen Serpent*, than that men's opinions should thus idolize them, and the heavenly truth be thus captivated."

As for the *Bishops*, he says that he denied not but many of them had been good men, though not infallible, nor above all human frailties. He affirmed, however, that, though at the beginning they had renounced the *Pope*, yet they had hugged the *Popedom*, and shared the authority among themselves, "by their six bloody Articles, persecuting the Protestants no slacker than the Pope would have done." He again states, that, in the reign of EDWARD the Sixth, they lent themselves as the tools of the semi-popish king's ministers, to accomplish every politic fetch that was then on foot. If a toleration for mass were to be begged of the king for his sister MARY, lest CHARLES the Fifth should be angry, who but the grave prelates, CRANMER and RIDLEY, should be sent to extort it from the young

king? But out of the mouth of that godly and royal child, Christ himself returned such an awful repulse to those killing and time-serving prelates, that after much bold importunity, they went their way, not without shame and tears. "And when the Lord SUDLEY, Admiral of England, and the Protector's brother, was wrongfully to lose his life, no man could be found fitter than LATIMER to divulge, in his sermon, the forged accusations laid to his charge, thereby to defame him with the people. Cranmer, one of king Henry's executors, and the other Bishops did, to gratify the ambition of a traytor, consent to exclude from the succession, not only MARY, the Papist, but also ELIZABETH, the Protestant, though before declared by themselves the lawful issue of their late master."

Speaking of the reign of ELIZABETH, he still imputes the obstructions of a further Reformation to the Bishops, and then proceeds to prove from antiquity, that, in the primitive church, elections to ecclesiastical offices belonged to the people. "But," he added, "in those early ages, after the Apostles' days, even if they favoured episcopacy, it would not much concern the age in which we live; because, since the best times were speedily infected, the best men of those times were foully tainted, and the best writings of those men dangerously adulterated;" all which propositions he

labours to prove at large, and in his own strong and powerful style.

In contemplating the glorious event of the Reformation, he expresses himself with perfect rapture. "How the bright and glorious Reformation (by divine power,) shone through the black and settled night of *ignorance* and *Antichristian tyranny*; methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour imbue his soul with the fragrancy of heaven. Then was the sacred BIBLE brought out of the dusty corners, where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the *schools* opened; *divine and human learning* raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; princes and cities trooping apace to the new-erected banner of *salvation*; the *martyrs* with the irresistible *might of weakness*, shaking the *powers of darkness*, and scorning the fiery rage of the *old red dragon*."

He thus continues his discourse of prelatical episcopacy, and displays its politics, which he contended had always been opposed to liberty. He traces its history from its most remote origin, and proves, that as it existed in England particularly, it was so far from being, as they commonly allege, the only form of church discipline agreeable to monarchy, that the most mortal diseases and convulsions of the govern-

ment had always proceeded from the craft or pride of the Bishops! He then boldly encourages the English and the Scotch, united by "the solemn league and covenant," to pursue the contest for liberty in Church and State, which they had so nobly begun. "Go on both, hand in hand, O nations, never to be disunited. Be the praise and the heroic song of all posterity—Merit this; but seek only virtue, not to extend your limits; for what need you win a fading triumphant laurel out of the tears of wretched men, but to settle the pure worship of God in his church, and justice in the state? Then shall the hardest difficulties smooth out themselves before you; envy shall sink to hell; craft and malice be confounded, whether it be homebred mischief, or outlandish cunning; yea, other nations will then covet to serve you; for lordship and victory are but the passes of justice and virtue. Commit securely to true wisdom the vanquishing and unusing of craft and subtilty, which are but her two renegades. Join your invincible might to do worthy and godlike deeds, and then he that wishes to break your union, a cleaving curse be his inheritance to all generations." Alas! how bitterly must Milton have lamented the disunion which soon after took place between these nations, and the oceans of noble blood which flowed of whole hecatombs, (chiefly Scotch,) from the

victims offered to appease mutual pride and jealousy, craft and treachery !

With one other short extract I will conclude this article:—"The sour leaven of human traditions," he says, "mixt in one putrified mass, with the poisonous dross of hypocrisy in the hearts of Prelates, that lie basking in the sunny warmth of wealth and promotion, is the serpent's egg, that will hatch an *Antichrist* wheresoever, and ingender the same monster as big or little as the lump is which breeds him. If the splendour of *gold* and *silver* begin to lord it once again in the Church of *England*, we shall see *Antichrist* shortly wallow here, though his chief kennel be at Rome. Believe me, Sir, right truly it may be said, that *Antichrist* is *Mammon's* son."

In 1641, certain of the Presbyterian ministers published a treatise against Episcopacy, the title, *Smectymnuus*, consisting of the initial letters of their names.* A Bishop having condescended to answer it, MILTON says: "I supposed myself to be not less able to write for *truth*, than others for their *profit* or unjust *power*." He therefore undertook to answer the lordly prelate, and published his work of *Prelatical Episcopacy*. "In this work," says Toland,

* This was a quarto work, and was written by Stephen Marshall, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow.

“he proves, against the famous USHER, (for he would not readily engage a meaner adversary,) that Diocesan Episcopacy, or a superior order to the common ministry, cannot be deduced from the Apostolical times, by the force of such testimonies as are alleged to that purpose. Now, Usher’s chief talents lying in much reading, and being a great editor, and admirer of old writings, MILTON shows the insufficiency, inconveniency, and impiety of this method, to establish any part of Christianity; and blames those persons, who cannot think any doubt resolved, or any doctrine confirmed, unless they run to that indigested heap and fry of authors, which they call antiquity.” “Whatsoever either time,” he says, “or the heedless hand of blind chance has drawn down to this present, in her huge drag-net, whether fish or sea-weed, shells or shrubs, unpicked, unchosen—these are the fathers.” And so he chides the good bishop USHER, “for divulging useless treatises, stuffed with the specious names of IGNATIUS and POLYCARPUS, with fragments of old martyrologies and legends, to distract and stagger the multitude of credulous readers.”

His next performance on the same subject, and chiefly directed against Usher’s “Origin of *Episcopacy*,” was entitled, “The reason of Church-government urged against Prelacy, in two books.” “The eloquence is masculine,” says Toland,

“the method is natural, and the sentiments are free.”

Another eminent Bishop, Dr. Joseph Hall, of Norwich, having written against *Smectymnus*, MILTON published “*Animadversions*” on his book. In a very unceremonious manner, he thus attacks his respectable opponent: “We know where the shoe wrings you; you fret, and are galled at the quick; and oh! what a death to the prelates to be thus unvizarded; to have your periwigs plucked off, that cover your baldness; your inside nakedness thrown open to public view. The Romans had a time every year, when their slaves might speak their minds; ’twere hard if the free-born people of England, with whom the voice of truth, for these many years, even against the proverb, hath not been heard but in corners, after all your monkish prohibitions, and expurgatorious indexes, your gags, and snuffles, your proud *Imprimaturs*, not to be obtained but with the shallow services, but not shallow hand of some mercenary, narrow-souled, and illiterate chaplain; when liberty of speaking, than which nothing is more sweet to man, was girded and straight-laced, almost to a broken-winded Tizzick; if now, at a good time,—our time of Parliament, the very Jubilee and resurrection of the state,—if now the corrected, the aggrieved, and long persecuted truth could not be suffered [to] speak; and though she

burst out with some efficacy of words, could not be excused, after such an injurious strangle of silence, nor avoid the censure of libelling, 'twere hard, 'twere something pinching, in a kingdom of free spirits."

The "Remonstrant" had said, "If in time you shall see wooden chalices and wooden priests, thank yourselves." MILTON answers, "It had been happy for this land, if your priests had been but only wooden: all England knows they have been to this island not wood, but wormwood, that have infected the third part of our waters, like the apostate starre in the revelation, that many souls have died of their bitterness; and if you mean by wooden, illiterate or contemptible, there was no want of that sort among you, and their number increasing daily, as their laziness, their tavern-hunting, their neglect of all sound literature, and their liking of doltish and monastical schoolmen daily increast."

To the reasons which are alleged by Episcopalians, for the liturgy being founded upon the acts of councils; and in order to give his opinion of free, or extempore prayer, he thus expresses himself;—"Let the grave councils put their books upon their shelves again, and string them hard, lest their various and jangling opinions put their leaves into a flutter. I do not intend, this hot season, to lead you a course

through the wide and dusty champain of the councils; but I shall take counsel of that which counselled them—reason! And though I know there is an obsolete reprehension now at your tongue's end, yet I shall be bold to say, that reason is the gift of God in one man as well as a thousand. By that which we have tasted already of their cisterns, we may find that *reason* was the only thing, and not any divine command, that moved them to enjoin the set forms of a liturgy. First, lest any thing in general might be missed in their public prayers, through ignorance or want of care, contrary to the faith;—and next, lest the *Arians* and *Pelagians*, in particular, should infect the people by their hymns and forms of prayer. But, by the good leave of these ancient fathers, this was no solid prevention of spreading heresy, to debar the ministers of God of their noblest talent—prayer in their congregations; unless they had forbid the use of all sermons and lectures too, but such as was ready-made to their hands, like our homilies: or else, he that was heretically disposed, had as fair an opportunity of infecting in his discourse as in his prayer or hymn. As insufficiently, and to say truth, as imprudently, did they provide, by their contrived liturgies, lest any thing should be prayed through ignorance or want of care in the ministers; for if they were careless and ignorant in their prayers,

certainly they would be more careless in watching over their flock; and what prescription could reach to bound them in both these? What if reason, now illustrated by the Word of God, shall be able to produce a better preventive than these councils have left us against heresy, ignorance, or want of care in the ministry, to wit, that such wisdom and diligence be used in the education of those that would be ministers, and such a spirit and serious examination to be undergone before their admission, as *St. Paul* to *Timothy* sets down at large; and then they need not carry such an unworthy suspicion over the preachers of God's word, as to tutor their unsoundness with the a, b, c, of a liturgy, or to diet their ignorance and want of care with the limited draught of a matin and evening-song drink."

He gives another hard hit at the *contents* of the liturgy:—"To contend that it is fantastical, if not senseless, in some places, were a copious argument, especially in the responses. For such alternatives as are there used, must be by several persons; but the minister and the people cannot so sever their interests as to sustain several persons, he being the only mouth of the whole body which he represents. And if the people pray, he being silent, or they ask one thing, and he another, it either changes the property, making the priest the people, and the people the priest by

turns, or else makes two persons representative where there should be but one; which, if there were nothing else, must be a strange quaintness in ordinary prayer. It has, indeed, been pretended to be more ancient than the mass, but so little proved, that whereas other corrupt liturgies have had such a seeming antiquity that their publishers have ventured to ascribe them either to ST. PETER, ST. JAMES, ST. MARK, or at least to CHRYSOSTOME or BASIL, ours has been never able to find either age or author allowable, on whom to father those things which therein is least offensive, except the two creeds."

Considering that Constantine corrupted religion, he says:—"Of his Arianism we heard; and for the rest, a pretty scantling of his knowledge may be taken, by his deferring to be baptized so many years, a thing not unusual, and repugnant to the tenor of *Scripture*, *Philip* knowing nothing that should hinder the Eunuch to be *baptized* [immediately] after the *profession* of his *belief*." He quotes Dante, in his 19th Canto of *Inferno*, to prove that even men professing the Roman faith, had charged Constantine with having marred every thing in the church:

"Ah! Constantine, of how much ill the cause,
Not thy conversion, but those rich domains,
That the first wealthy Pope secured of thee."—p. 27.

He published another work in this year, en-

titled, "Reason of Church Government urged against Prelaty;" which he commences, by proving, that "the Church Government is prescribed in the Gospel, and that to say otherwise is unsound." He takes up the hackneyed argument of churchmen, who contend that "church discipline is not platformed in the Bible, but is left to the discretion of men." To the first of these statements he answers: "If we could imagine that he [Christ] left it at random, without his providence and gracious ordering, who is he so arrogant, so presumptuous, that durst dispose and guide the living ark of the Holy Ghost, though he should find it wandering in the fields of *Bethshemish*, without the constant warrant of some high calling? But no profane insolence can parallel that which our prelates dare avouch, to drive outrageously, and shelter the holy ark of the church, not borne upon their shoulders with pains and labour in the word, but drawn with rude oxen, their officials and their own brute inventions. Let them make shews of reforming while they will, so long as the church is mounted upon the prelatical cart, and not as it ought, between the hands of the ministers, it will but shake and totter; and he that sets to his hand, though with a good intent, to hinder the shogging of it, in this unlawful waggonry wherein he rides, let him beware it be not fatal to him as it was to Uzza."

In reply to quotations from the *Fathers*, he speaks most contemptuously. He calls them, "those more ancient than trusty Fathers, whose custom and fond opinion, weak principles, and the neglect of sounder knowledge, have exalted so high, as to have gained them a blind reverence, whose books in bigness and number are endless and immeasurable; I cannot think that either God or nature, either divine or human wisdom, did mean they should ever be a rule or reliance to us, in the decision of any weighty or positive doctrines; for certainly every rule and instrument of necessary knowledge that God has given us, ought to be so in proportion as may be wielded and managed by the life of man, without penning him up from the duties of human society. But he that shall bind himself to make antiquity his rule, if he reads but part, (besides the difficulty of the choice,) his rule is deficient and utterly unsatisfying. For there may be other writers of another mind, which he has not seen; and if he undertakes all, the length of man's life cannot extend to give him a full and requisite knowledge of what was done in antiquity. Go, therefore, and use all your art, apply your sledges, your levers, and your iron crows, to heave your mighty *Polyphemus* of antiquity, to the delusion of novices and unexperienced Christians."

“ But if any shall strive to set up his *Ephod* and *Teraphim* of antiquity against the brightness and perfection of the gospel, let him fear lest he and his *Baal* be turned into *Bosheth*. And thus much may suffice to shew that the pretended *Episcopacy* cannot be deduced from the apostolical times.”

Nor was he friendly to the system of ministers being paid from *tythes* and other church revenues, which the Puritans, who now possessed the livings, could prove to be *jure Divino* with infinite ease! not excelled in their conclusive arguments even by their predecessors, whether Episcopalians or Papists. “ The present ecclesiastical revenues,” he says, “ were not at first the effects of just policy or wholesome laws, but of the superstitious devotion of princes and great men who knew no better; or of the base importunity of begging friars, haunting and harassing the death-beds of men departing this life, in a blind and wretched condition of hope to merit heaven, for the building of churches, cloysters, and convents; the black revenues of purgatory, the price of abused and murdered souls, the damned simony of Trentals, and the hire of indulgencies to commit mortal sin.”

Before concluding my extracts from this work, I introduce the following humourous satire of

those who shouted, "No bishop! No king!" in a letter to a friend.

"SIR,—Can mischief be nearer hand, than when *bishops* shall openly affirm that '*No bishop! No king?*' A trim paradox, and they may know where they have been a begging for it. I will fetch you the twin brother to it out of the Jesuit's cell; they, feeling the axe of God's reformation, hewing at the old and rotten trunk of Papacy, and finding the Spaniard their surest friend and safest refuge, to sooth him up in his dream of a fifth monarchy, and withal to uphold the decrepit Papalty, have invented this super-politick aphorism, as one terms it, 'One Pope and one king!'

"The little ado which I find in undertaking these pleasant sophisms, puts me into the mind to tell you a tale before I proceed further, and *Menenius Agrippa* speed us.

"A TALE OF THE HEAD AND THE WEN.

"Upon a time the body summoned all the members to meet in the guild for the common good, (as *Æsop's* Chronicles draw many stranger accidents;) the *head* by right takes the first seat, and next to it a huge and monstrous *wen*, little less than the head itself, growing to it by a narrow excrescency. The members arranged began to

ask one another what he was that took place next their chief: none could resolve, whereat the *wen*, though unwieldy, with much ado gets up, and bespeaks the assembly to this purpose;—that as in place he was second to the *head*, so by due of merit; that he was to it an ornament, and strength, and of special near relation; and that if the head should fail, none were fitter than himself to slip into his place; therefore he thought it for the honour of the body, that such dignities and rich endowments should be deemed him, as did adorn and set out the noblest members. To this was answered, that it should be consulted. There was a wise and learned philosopher sent for, that knew all the charters, laws, and tenures of the body; on him it is imposed by all, as chief counsellor, to examine and discuss the claim and petition of right put in by the *wen*; who soon hearing the matter, and wondering at the boldness of such a swoln tumour; ‘Wilt thou, (quoth he,) that art but a bottle of vitious and hardened excrements, contend with the lawful and free-born members, whose certain number is set by ancient and unimpeachable statute? *Head* thou art none, though thou receive this huge substance from it. What offices bearest thou? What good canst thou show done by thee to the common weal? The *wen*, not easily dasht, replies, that his office was his glory; for as oft as the soul would retire out

of the head, from over the steaming vapours of the lower parts to divine contemplations, with him she found the purest and quickest retreat, as being most remote from soil and disturbance. ‘Lourdan,’ quoth the philosopher, ‘thy folly is as great as thy filth; know that all the faculties of the soul are confined of old to their several vessels and *ventricles*, from which they cannot part without dissolution of the whole body; and that thou containest no good thing in thee, but a heap of hard and loathsome uncleanness, and art to the head a foul disfigurement and burden. When I have cut thee off and opened thee, as by the help of these implements I will do, all men shall know.”

Some minister, said by MILTON to be a son of Bishop Hall, in writing against his *Animadversions* on Bishop Usher’s book, had called it “a scurrilous libel;” and not content with this, had treated the author with the greatest contempt, using defaming language and personal reflections. In his reply, entitled, “*Modest confutation of a slanderous and scandalous Libel*, by JOHN MILTON, gent.” he proves himself to have been a match for his antagonist even in scurrillity and calling hard names. Speaking of the university men, he says, “What with truanting and debauchery, what with false grounds, and the weakness of natural faculties in many of them

(it being a maxim with some men to send the simplest of their sons thither,) perhaps there would be found among them as many unsolid and corrupted judgments, both in doctrine and life, as in any other two corporations of the like bigness. This is undoubted, that if any carpenter, smith, or weaver, were such a bungler in his trade, as the greater number of them are in their profession, he would starve for any custom: and should he exercise his manufacture as little as they do their talents, he would forget his art: or, should he mistake his tools as they do theirs, he would mar all the work he took in hand. How few among them that know how to write or speak in a pure stile, much less to distinguish the ideas and various kinds of stile. In *Latin* barbarous, and oft not without solecisms, declaiming in rugged and miscellaneous gear, blown together by the four winds; and in their choice preferring the gay rankness of APULEIUS, ARNOBIUS, or any modern *Fustianist*, before the native Latinisms of CICERO. In the *Greek* tongue most of them unlettered, or unentered to any sound proficiency in those *Attic* masters of wisdom or eloquence. In the *Hebrew* text, except it be some few of them, their letters are utterly uncircumcised. No less are they out of the way in philosophy, pestering their heads with the sapless dotages of old *Pan's* and *Salamanca*."

His antagonist had meanly insinuated that MILTON's early rising was for sensual pursuits. In reply, he says: "My morning haunts are, where they should be, at home; not sleeping or concocting the surfeits of an irregular feast, but up and stirring; in winter often before the sound of any bell awakens men to labour or devotion; in summer as oft as the bird that first rouses, or not much tardier, to read good authors, or cause them to be read till the attention is weary, or the memory have its full fraught. Then, with useful and generous labour, preserving the body's health and hardiness, to render a lightsome, clear, and not a lumpish, obedience of the mind, *for the cause of religion and our country's liberty, when it shall require firm hearts in sound bodies, to stand and cover their stations, rather than see the ruin of our Protestation, [Protestantism,] and the inforcement of a slavish life.*"

He thus castigates collegians who were theatrical performers. "There, while they acted and overacted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I disliked; and to make up the Atticism, they were out, and I hist."

He had to answer the charge of lewdness and sensuality from his *reverend* accuser! "These means, together with a certain niceness of nature,

an honest haughtiness and self-esteem, either of what I was, or what I might be, (which let envy call pride,) and lastly, a burning modesty, all uniting their natural aid together, kept me still above those low descents of mind, beneath which he must deject and plunge himself, that can agree to salvable and unlawful prostitution."—"If I should tell you what I learnt of chastity and love, (I mean that which is truly so,) whose charming cup is only virtue, which she bears in her hand to those who are worthy; the rest are cheated with a thick, intoxicating potion, which a certain sorceress, the abuser of love's name, carries about: and if I were to tell you how the first and chiefest office of love begins and ends in the soul, producing those happy twins of the divine generation, knowledge and virtue, with such abstracted sublimities as these, it might be worth your listening, readers."

His *most reverend* antagonist indulged in the following advice to MILTON's acquaintances; that is, if they were genuine *Christians*. "You that love Christ," said he, "and know this miscreant wretch, stone him to death, lest you smart for his impunity." The following retort is too much in the stile of "rendering railing for railing;" though it is probable MILTON thought it to be "answering a fool according to his folly, lest he should be wise in his own conceit." "There be

those in the world, and I among those, who nothing admire the idol of a bishoprick; and hold that it wants so much to be a blessing, as that I deem it the merest, the falsest, the most unfortunate gift of fortune; and were the punishment and misery of being a bishop to be terminated only in the person, and did not extend to the affliction of the whole diocese, if I could wish any thing in the bitterness of my soul to an enemy, I should wish him the biggest and the fattest bishoprick."

On this prayer his biographer quaintly remarks: "If MILTON had been such a saint as never missed a favourable answer to his prayers, I question not, but at this rate, more had coveted to be his enemies than his friends." "Another mark of MILTON's goodwill to the bishops," says Toland, "was this unpardonable simile:—'A bishop's foot, that has all its toes, (maugre the gout,) and a linen sock over it, is the aptest emblem of the prelate himself; who being a pluralist, may under one surplice hide four benefices, besides the great metropolitan toe which sends such a foul stench to heaven.' In another place, he calls their princely revenues the 'gulfs and whirlpools of benefices, but the dry pits of all sound doctrine.' And again, 'Bishops or presbyters we know, and deacons we know, but what are chaplains? In state, perhaps, they may be listed among the upper serving men of some great

household, and be admitted to some such place as may stile them the servers or yeomen-ushers of devotion, where the master is too rusty or too rich to say his own prayers, or to bless his own table.' ”

His sarcasms upon worldly-minded ministers were not confined to Episcopalians; the *Puritans*, who had succeeded them in the parish livings, and, it should appear, in many instances, to their covetous and libidinous practices, came in for their full share. “ Oh, ye ministers,” says he, “ read here what work he makes among your gallipots, your balms, and your cordials; and not only your sweet sippets in widows’ houses, but the huge goblets, wherewith he charges you to have devoured houses and all. Cry him up for a saint in your pulpits, while he crys you down for Atheists in hell.”

All these elaborate works must have been written in little more than a year after his return, and when he was but little more than thirty-three years of age.

The judicious reader will have perceived, that MILTON’S objections to the Episcopal Church of England, were founded upon the dissenting arguments of the sufficiency of the Scriptures alone, and the right of private judgment, in opposition to her acknowledged foundation, being the *Creeds* of the first four general councils, in addition to

the Scriptures; and the Anti-christian principle of the right of the civil magistrate to adopt rites and ceremonies, and enforce them by civil pains and penalties, upon the observance of those whose consciences would not allow them to obey any thing in religion, but what was taught them in the oracles of God.

It is fair to admit, that another circumstance which roused his mighty choler was adventitious to the order of bishops, but which, with many of that order, was an integral part of their office: this was their being employed as *civil* officers, having to manage many of the affairs of government, at least in so far as related to what they called religious delinquencies. The decisions and sentences of bishops, in the Star Chamber, from which there was no appeal, were the most galling oppression, the most cruel tyranny; and even the *Canons*, which had been adopted by them in their last Convocation, in 1640, had roared hoarse thunder, and sent forth more than fire and smoke against the almost only honest men, at that time, in the kingdom, the Puritans and Sectaries: the Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists, &c. &c.

Nor should it be overlooked, that though the blunt and straight-forward caustic *style* in which he attacked the prelates must have been highly diverting to those Puritans, both in church and

state, who had begun to throw off their prelatical chains, yet the *sentiments* would be very far from meeting their approbation; because, though the Puritans were opposed to Episcopacy, they yet had no objection to the *principle* of an establishment, the spiritual supremacy of the monarch; and much less any to the *tithes* provided for the support of the priesthood; nor, I might add, to what was, above all, exposed by MILTON, the right of the established sect to withhold toleration, and to punish, with fines and imprisonments, and even with death, those who would not submit their consciences to the dictation of the magistrate.

CHAPTER III.

1644—1648.

AT this time a most dreadful civil war raged in the nation, which was began in the year 1640. The historian Hume, speaking of the meeting of parliament at that period, says : “ The parliament, at meeting, (the 13th of April, 1640,) was unusually numerous. Every member looked upon this conjunction as a national crisis. The king in his speech represented the necessity of a supply to maintain his troops, and of means to expel the Scottish rebels, that the nation in general might be free from its fears, and the northern counties disburdened of such troublesome guests, whom they were obliged to maintain. The commons having, at the king’s recommendation, filled their chair with William Lenthal, a lawyer of some reputation, established a committee of elections. Then they resolved that, on certain days of every week, there should be a committee of the whole house, to deliberate upon the state of religion, the grievances, the courts of justice;

commerce, and the affairs of Ireland. Fanaticism, with all its levelling principles, had now overspread the land. Even those leaders of the commons who had assumed a puritanical severity in their words and actions, to work the more effectually on the minds of the populace, were gradually infected with that enthusiasm which at first they had only feigned: many became real religionists, while others imbibed a large portion of puritanism, without laying aside their hypocrisy. The members were generally bent upon an alteration in the government. A few moderate men sought only to ascertain the liberties of the nation: others resolved to humble and diminish the royal prerogative; and there was a more violent party, that extended their views to an utter extirpation of the hierarchy and monarchical government; but these at first carefully concealed their designs under the profession of rigid Presbyterians, and were afterwards known by the name of Independents. Religion was become a universal fashion. The most eloquent speakers in the house introduced a kind of holy cant and jargon into their speeches, and all their allusions being scriptural, stamped them with an air of prophecy or inspiration.”* Vol. vii. p. 169. London edition. 1759.

* The reader, by bearing in his mind that Hume was a Tory in *politics*, and an infidel in *religion*, will know how

A distinguished female writer, of sound constitutional principles and of heart-felt piety, Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson, gives the following account of the state of the nation at this period:—
“The king had upon his heart the dealings both in England and Scotland with his mother, and harboured a secret desire of revenge upon the godly in both nations, yet had not courage enough to assert his resentment like a prince, but employed a wicked cunning he was master of, and called king-craft, to undermine what he durst not openly oppose—the true religion: this was fenced with the liberty of the people, and so linked together, that ’twas impossible to make them slaves, till they were brought to be idolators of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods, while they continued loyall to the government of Jesus Christ. The payment of civill obedience to the king and the laws of the land satisfied not; if any durst dispute his impositions in the worship of God, he was presently reckon’d among the seditious and disturbers of the public peace, and accordingly persecuted; if any were grieved at the dishonour of the kingdom, or the griping of the poore, or the unjust oppressions

to appreciate this description, so far as it relates to the Puritans: he seems to have totally forgotten that it is not the prerogative of any man to search the hearts of other men.

of the subject, by a thousand ways, invented to maintain the riots of the courtier and the swarms of needy Scots the king had brought in to devour like locusts the plenty of this land, he was a Puritane: if any, out of mere morallity and civill honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days, he was a Puritane, however he conformed to their superstitious worship: if any showed favour to any godly, honest person, kept them company, relieved them in want, or protected them against violent or uniuert oppression, he was a Puritane: if any gentleman in his country maintained the good laws of the land, or stood up for any public interest, for good order or government, he was a Puritane: in short, all that crost the viewes of the needie courtiers, the proud, encroaching priests, the theevish proiectors, the lewd nobillity and gentrie, whoever was zealous for God's glory or worship, could not endure blasphemous oaths, ribbald conversation, prophane scoffs, sabbath-breach, derision of the word of God, and the like; whoever could endure a sermon, modest habitt, or conversation, or something good, all these were Puritanes; and if Puritanes, then enemies to the king and his government, seditious factions, hypocrites, ambitious disturbers of the public peace, and finally, the pest of the kingdom. Such false logick did the children of darkness use, to argue with against the hated children of

light, whom they branded besides as an illiterate, morose, discontented, melancholly, crazed sort of men, not fit for humane conversation: as such, they not only made them the sport of the pulpitt; which was become but a more solemn sort of stage; but every stage, and every table, and every pupett-play, belcht forth profane scoffs upon them; the drunkards made them their songs; all fiddlers and mimicks learned to abuse them, as finding it a most gamefull way of fooling. Thus the two factions in those dayes grew up to great heighths and enmities, one against the other; whilst the Papist wanted not industry and subtilty to blow the coals betweene them, and was so successeful, that unless the mercy of God confounde them by their own imaginations, we may iustly feare they will at last obtane their full wish.”*

In order to give the reader a view of the condition of the Prelates at this period, it must be stated, that on the 15th of December, 1640, a petition was presented to the House of Commons against the Popish ceremonies in the Church; and on the 22nd, the House resolved:—“That the Clergy, in a synod or convocation, hath no power to make laws, canons, or constitutions,† to bind either

* *Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, written by his widow, Lucy, vol. i. p. 121—124.

† From one of these condemned Canons, (No. 5,) I extract

Laity or Clergy, without the Parliament; and that the canons, made by the late convocation, are against the fundamental laws of this realm, the King's prerogative, propriety of the subject, the rights of Parliament, and do tend to faction and sedition."* (Clarendon and Whitlocke compared, p. 57.)

the following:—"That all those proceedings, and penalties, which are mentioned in the aforesaid Canon against Popish miscreants, as far as they shall be applicable, shall stand in full force and vigor against all *Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists*, or other sect or sects, person and persons, whatsoever, who do, or shall either obstinately refuse, or ordinarily, not having a lawful impediment, (that is, for the space of a month,) neglect to repair to their Parish Churches or Chapels, where they inhabit, for the purpose of hearing divine service established, and receiving of the holy communion, according to law, &c. &c. &c." The penalty, *excommunication* for the first offence. The 7th Article, entitled "A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies," is, in so far as it relates to the Communion Table, &c. &c. the grossest popery.—See Constitutions and Canons, agreed to by the King, 1640, p. 21, 22, *Sparrow's Collections*.

* The Dissenters from the Established Church had for many years had separate congregations, or churches, in London, though doubtless as private as possible. The first was a General or Arminian Baptist Church, in 1611. The Independents had founded a church in 1616. The Presbyterians had had separate congregations, from 1572, though their ministers still kept their parishes. But now that the parliament had put an end to the persecuting power of the bishops, the sects made no attempt to hide themselves, but met publicly at various places. The honest Thomas Fuller, in his Church His-

We learn from Hume, that on the 13th of February, two days after the execution of the perse-

tory says, but not with his usual pious feeling and good temper, "on Jan. 18, 1641, happened the first fruits of Anabaptistical insolence, when eighty of that sect, meeting at a house in St. Saviour's, Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Elizabeth, for the administration of common prayer, was no good law, because made by bishops; that the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate; and that he was only to be obeyed in *civil* matters. Being brought before the Lords, they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted on them."

The reader who is curious enough to know all about this matter, should consult, as I have done, the Journals of the House of Lords of that period. He will find that the Lords treated the six or seven men who were brought before them for having dared to preach against the king's supremacy, in *spiritual* matters, with great respect; enquired where they assembled; and intimated they would come and hear them. Accordingly, the next Lord's Day, three or four of the peers, to the great astonishment of many, went to "Deadman's Place, in Southwark;"—three or four of the peers attend their religious worship!—"The people went on in their usual method, having two sermons, in both of which they treated of those principles for which they had been accused; founding their discourses upon the words of our Saviour, '*All power is given unto me, both in heaven and in earth, &c.*' After this, they received the Lord's Supper, and then made a collection for the poor, to which the peers contributed liberally with them. At their departure they signified their satisfaction as to what they had heard and seen, and their inclination to come again; but this made so much noise, that they durst not venture a second time."—(*Ivimey's History of the English Baptists*, vol. i. p. 153, 154.)

cuting Archbishop Laud, the House of Commons ordered a bill to be brought in for abolishing superstition. On the 1st of March, a committee was established to prepare reasons for depriving ecclesiastics of all secular employments. At length a bill for excluding ecclesiastics from all secular employments passed the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords, among whom it met with great opposition.—The Commons immediately brought in another bill for the total abolition of episcopacy.—Then the Lords gave them to understand, they were ready to concur with the first bill, excepting the clause which deprived bishops of their seats in parliament. The Commons presented nine reasons for excluding bishops from parliament. On the 7th of June, the Peers voted, ‘That the bishops should be maintained in their right to sit in parliament.’—On the 15th, the lower House passed a vote, importing, ‘That all deans, chapters, archdeacons, prebendaries, chanters, canons, and their officers, should be totally suppressed, and their revenues employed for the encouragement of study, science, and other pious uses; that the King should be indemnified for his rents, first fruits, and other rights; and that a convenient subsistence should be assigned to those who should be thus deprived of their livings, provided they were not delinquents.’

Twelve prelates, meeting at the house of the

archbishop of York, subscribed a protest, which was presented to the Lords and the King, importing, 'That, as they had an incontestable right to vote in parliament, they were ready to do their duty, if not prevented by force and violence; that they abhorred all opinions tending to the advancement of popery; that, as they had been insulted, and their lives endangered by the fury of the populace, they could no longer repair to the House of Peers, unless measures should be taken for their personal safety; and therefore they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, that should be made in their absence.'—The Lords no sooner received this protest, (which was, in effect, an effort to dissolve or suspend the parliament,) than they demanded a conference with the Commons, who, having taken it into consideration, resolved to accuse the bishops of high treason, for having attempted to subvert the fundamental laws and the very essence of parliament. This resolution was immediately executed, and the twelve bishops were committed to prison.

The king passed the bill to exclude the bishops from their seats in parliament; soon after, the two houses, in 1643, signed "the Solemn League and Covenant," which bound the two kingdoms to the extirpation of popery and prelacy.*—(*Hume's History*, vol. vii.)

* That the proceedings of the Parliament, in putting out

From this period may be dated the establishment, increase, and prosperity of the Independent and Baptist Churches.*

Considering how much MILTON had contributed

the bishops, gave great pleasure to the country, is evident from many circumstances; one may be mentioned:—In the Journals of the House of Lords, 22d April, 1642, there is an entry from “the knights, &c. &c. of the county of Cornwall,” in which it is said, “That they heartily praise God, and thank you, for your happy conjunction with the House of Commons, in *casting out bishops* for sitting and voting among you.”

* The Baptists, who held the principles afterwards called Calvinistic, and had, from the time of Wickliffe, been mixed up with the Lollards and Sacramentarians, formed themselves, in the year 1633, into a separate church. Their beginning was very small; but they soon abundantly increased. Mr. William Kiffin, who joined them in 1638, and who became, from his character and influence, the father of the denomination, gives the following simple account of their origin. “There was a congregation of Protestant dissenters of the Independent persuasion in London, gathered in the year 1616, of which Mr. Henry Jacob was their first pastor; and after him succeeded Mr. John Lathorp, who was their minister in 1633. In this society several persons, finding that the congregation kept not to its first principles of separation; and being also convinced that baptism was not to be administered to infants, but to such as professed faith in Christ, desired that they might be dismissed from that communion, and allowed to form a distinct congregation, in such order as was most agreeable to their own sentiments.

“The church considering they were now grown very nu-

towards this consummation—the abolition of Diocesan Episcopacy—the event of “the extirpation of prelacy” must have afforded him exuberant joy; because, with his sentiments, as expressed in his several treatises against the prelates, he considered, as the parliament appears to have done, that popery and prelacy were identical, or at least so closely united, that in death they could not be divided! The pious bishop, Joseph Hall, who was one of the *protestors*, calls the treatment they received from the Commons “hard measure!” It might have been so to him and a few others, who were devoted Christian ministers of the Gospel; but as to most of them, they were any thing rather than Christian bishops!—Cruel persecutors of the godly dissenters, and base sycophants to the king

merous, and so more than could in those times of persecution conveniently meet together; and believing also that those persons acted from a principle of conscience, and not from obstinacy, agreed to allow them the liberty they desired, and that they should be constituted a distinct church; which was performed Sept. 12, 1633. *And as they believed that baptism was not rightly administered to infants, so they looked upon the baptism which they had at that age as invalid, whereupon most or all of them received a NEW BAPTISM, [by being immersed in water on a personal profession of repentance and faith.]* Their minister was Mr. JOHN SPILSBURY. What number there were is uncertain, because in the mentioning of about twenty men and women, it is added, ‘with divers others.’”—*Hist. of Eng. Bap.* vol. i. p. 138.—1811.

and his oppressive ministers; and who, like Ahab, as to the votes which they gave in parliament, "sold themselves to work iniquity;" the non-resisting and passive obedient tools of arbitrary power; the ready helpers to execute any oppressive measures to grind the people to powder; mean satellites and cringing hypocrites to those who were above them; haughty tyrants, and bloody oppressors to those whom they could ensnare by their *et cætera* oath, or get within the purview of the High Commission Court! And was it wonderful that every British heart, and especially the hearts of Protestant dissenters, rejoiced when these tyrants, who had oppressed them for nearly a century, fell into disgrace, and were pronounced, as to their temporal and spiritual dignity, to be public nuisances? However "hard the measure," no impartial and honest Briton but what will say that it was strictly just. And what English heart now, but will raise a prayer to God—who hears the prayer of the humble, and who is always ready to help the oppressed, and to confound the oppressor—" *So let all thine enemies perish, oh, God! but let them that love thee be as the sun when he goeth forth in his might!*" Judges, v. 31.

We are now arrived at the year 1644, and find our hero again employed as the defender of the liberties of his countrymen. The work which he

published he entitled, "*Areopagitica*, or an Oration to the Parliament of England for the Liberty of unlicensed Printing." It is not improbable but the following circumstances, recorded in the Journals of the House of Lords for 1644, produced that extraordinary display of mind. "Ordered, that the gentleman-usher attending this house, shall repair to the Lord Mayor of London, and the master and wardens of the Stationers' Company, to let them know, that this House expects a speedy account of them, what they have done in finding out the author, printer, or publisher of the scandalous libel."

"The wardens of the Stationers' Company gave the house an account, 'that they had used their best endeavours to find out the printer and author of the scandalous libel; but they cannot yet make any discovery thereof, the letter being so common a letter;' and further complained of the frequent printing of scandalous books, by divers, as Hezekia Woodward and JOHN MILTON."

"Hereupon it is ordered, that it be referred to Mr. Justice Bacon, to examine the said *Woodward* and MILTON, and such others as the master and wardens of the Stationers' Company shall give information of concerning the printing of books and pamphlets; and to examine also what they know concerning the libel, who was the author, printer and publisher of it. And the gentleman-

usher shall attach the parties, and bring them before the judges ; and the Stationers are to be present at their examination, and give evidence against them."

On June 31, " Mr. Justice Bacon informed the house of some paper which Ezeckiel Woodward confessed he made. Hereupon it is ordered he shall be *released*, giving his own bond to appear before this house when he shall be summoned." It does not appear that MILTON was brought up.

The length to which the Presbyterians carried their zeal to suppress libels, may be judged of from the following entry in the Journals, the 12th of July, 1644. " A book entitled *Comfort for believers about their Sins and Troubles*, by John Archer, M. A. sometime preacher at Lombard-street." The Assembly denounced it as blasphemous ; and the Lords ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and all the copies of it to be called in.

It was necessary, that before any book could be printed, it should receive the *imprimatur* of some person authorised by the government ; and subject of course to be deprived, by the same power, of any emolument which he might derive from his office. The object proposed by MILTON was, to procure the most entire liberty of the press, subject to a liability to prosecution, should that liberty be employed

for licentious or injurious practices, such as blasphemy, or libel, or immorality; and if the printer or publisher were found guilty, to be punished with a specified fine.

In this his immortal work, even more so than by his exposures of prelatical rank in the church, he greatly served the cause of rational, restrained liberty; because, *if the press be free*, we dare bishops, or any others, to be oppressive. In those he lops off the branches, and removes the excrescences of arbitrary power; but in this he lays the axe to the root of the tree:—in those he corrected the diseases of the body politic; in this he infuses new blood into the system, by which he at once hurled oppression to the ground, and introduced the means of producing *political* strength and beauty, and preserving *civil* and *religious* life and liberty. It is in this work that he introduces Galileo, and his hard and cruel fate. He says: “There it was, [Italy] that I found and visited the famous GALILEO, grown old a prisoner to the Inquisition, for thinking in astronomy otherwise than the Franciscan and Dominican licensors thought. And though I knew that England was then groaning loudest under the prelatical yoke, nevertheless I took it for a pledge of future happiness, that other nations were so persuaded of her liberty. Yet was it beyond my hope, that those worthies who were then breathing in her air,

should be her leaders to such a deliverance as shall never be forgotten by any revolution of time that this world hath to finish."

He first proves that the ancient Republics of *Greece* and *Italy* never prohibited any but immoral, defamatory, or atheistical publications. Nor did they judge of those crimes, by inferences or inuendoes: as, for instance, they never suppressed the writings of the *Epicureans*, which denied the doctrine of Providence and a future state, if they did not publish their formal doubts or denials of the existence of a Deity. Yet he argued, that it was beyond contradiction, that those nations maintained an excellent government, distributing public and private justice, and abounding in all knowledge and virtue, infinitely above those who have been, in modern times, the purgers, corruptors, or executioners of books!

The Roman emperors, he states, were tyrants; and none but tyrants would imitate their conduct, or think of quoting them as examples.

He remarks, in respect to the primitive Christians, that they observed no uniformity in regard to this subject. At first they encouraged the reading of all the heathen writers, but prohibited those which were heretical among themselves; afterwards they contended for the propriety of confuting the books of heretics, and suppressing the heathen works, even if they did not relate to

religion; as he mentions a *Carthaginian* council, about A. D. 400, when even the bishops were prohibited from reading the works of the heathen writers. He shows, that had that infamous and barbarous resolution been thoroughly executed, as it was, to a considerable degree, to what a depth of meanness it would have reduced the world, depriving it of so many inimitable historians, orators, philosophers, and poets; the repositories of inestimable treasures, consisting of warlike and heroic deeds, the best and wisest rules of government, the most perfect rules and examples of eloquence and politeness, and such divine lectures of wisdom and virtue, that the loss of CICERO's works alone, or those of LIVY, could not be repaired by all the fathers of the church. He proceeds to show, that where, in process of time, the clergy were exalted even above the chief magistrate himself, they burnt and destroyed every thing which did not favour their power or superstition; and laid a restraint upon reading, as well as upon writing, without excepting the very BIBLE. Nor did they stop in their course till the inquisition reduced this abominable practice to the perfection of an art, by expurgatory indexes and licensing. He then shows, that all the consequences of such tyranny had been produced in England, such as depriving men of their natural liberty, stifling their parts, introducing of igno-

rance, engrossing all advantages to one party, and the like; and that all these objections had been made by the Presbyterians against the prelates before the civil wars; but now, finding themselves in the bishops' pulpits, and possessed of their power, they exercised the same authority, and even with more intolerable rigour and severity. Then, after having given the history of the origin, progress, and mischief of licensing, he proves, that if we regard the reasons usually alleged, to prohibit the publishing of any books besides, on the subjects he first excepted, such as the fear of wresting, or mistaking their meaning, then we must be prohibited from reading the Bible, the Fathers, or almost any other sort of books. He then, in the second place, shows that the ends proposed by licensing the press, could not by that means be attained. In the third place he contends, that no man is fit to be a licenser, nor in any one single faculty, unless he is universally learned, or a better scholar than all the authors whose labours he is to licence; and that admitting these things to be possible, which he did not grant, he would neither find strength nor time enough to peruse all books; and should he use deputies, he was most likely to have ignorant, lazy, and mercenary fellows. He then points out the various discouragements which follow to all literature, and any new discoveries which is the pretence, in po-

pish countries, and even to the not re-printing of ancient authors in any language, and comes to the conclusion, that *licensing is both unjust in itself, and dishonourable to a free government*. He exposes this practice with all the felicity of language, by a number of different representations. "A man," says he, "may be an heretic in the truth; and if he believes only because his pastor says so, or the '*Assembly*' so determines, without knowing any other reason, though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds becomes his heresy. There is not any burden that some would gladlier put off to another, than the charge and care of their religion. Who knows not that there be some Protestants who live in as arrant implicit faith as any lay papist of *Loretto*? A wealthy man, addicted to his pleasures and his profits, finds religion to be a traffic so entangled, and of so many piddling accounts, that of all mysteries he cannot bear to keep a stock going upon that trade; what does he therefore, but resolves to give over toiling, and to find out some factor, to whose care and credit he may commit the whole management of his religious affairs, and that must be some divine of note and estimation! To him he adheres, resigns the whole warehouse of his religion, with all the locks and keys, into his custody, and indeed makes the very person of that man his religion, esteem his associating with him a suffi-

cient evidence and commendation of his own piety ; so that a man may say his religion is now no more within himself, but is become a dividual moveable, and goes and comes near him as that good man frequents the house. He entertains him, gives him gifts, feasts him, lodges him ; his religion comes home at night, prays, is liberally supped, and sumptuously laid to sleep ; rises, and is saluted, and (after the malmsy, or some well-spiced beverage, and better breakfasted than he whose morning appetite would have gladly fed on green figs between *Bethany* and *Jerusalem*,) his religion walks abroad at eight, and leaves his kind entertainer in the shop, trading all day without his religion !

“Nor much better will be the consequence among the clergy themselves. It is no new thing, never heard of before, for a parochial minister who has his reward, and is at his *Hercules* Pillars in a warm benefice, to be easily inclinable (if he has nothing else to rouse up his studies) to finish his circuit in an English concordance, and a Topic folio. The gatherings and sayings of a sober graduateship, a harmony, and a *Catena*, treading the constant round of certain common doctrinal heads, attended with their uses, motives, marks, and means ; out of which, as out of an alphabet, or *sol fa mi*, by forming and transforming, joining and disjoining variously, a

little book-craft, and two hours' meditation, he might furnish himself unspeakably to the performance of more than a weekly charge of sermoning; not to reckon up the infinite helps of interlinearies, breviaries, cynopses, and other loitering gear. But, as for the multitude of sermons already printed on every text that is not difficult, he need never fear penury of pulpit provision; yet if his rear and flanks be not inspected, if his back-door be not secured by the rigid Licenser, but that a bold book may now and then issue forth, and give an assault to some of his old collections in their trenches, it will concern him to keep waking, to stand in watch, to set good guards and centinels about his received opinions, to walk the round and counter-round with his fellow-inspectors, fearing lest any of his flock be seduced, who also then would be better instructed, better exercised and disciplined: and God send that the fear of this diligence, which must then be used, do not make us effect the laziness of a licensing church."

The following burst of noble eloquence is perhaps unrivalled in sublimity of thought and adaptedness of words:—"Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks: methinks I see her as an eagle mewing

her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full mid-day beam; purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance; while the whole noise of timorous and flocking birds, with those also that love the twilight, flutter about amazed at what she means*, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of sects and schisms."

This most energetic appeal, and most poignant satire, produced no effect upon a contracted, presbyterian government. That they remained inexorably determined to put chains and locks upon the printing presses, appeared from the following circumstance. The arguments used by MILTON, induced one MABAL, a licenser, to offer his reasons against licensing, and at his own request he was permitted to give up the office !†

* It is amusing to read the remarks of *Symmons* on this passage. He says, "the passage should have ended with 'means.' The imagery is spoilt and broken by the concluding words, 'sects and schisms.' " Yes, it might have been more *elegant*; but then his object in writing it would have been lost: he meant, that "the birds who loved the twilight" should take a hint, that they could not bear that light of truth which led men off from the established church.

† The following history, from a note in the 4th vol. of *Blackstone's Commentaries*, p. 152, (eleventh edition,) shows that *Corruption* is a monster that will not die easily, when there are paid servants of the state to nourish it, and cherish it,

In his thirty-fifth year, he entered into the marriage state, at Whitsuntide, 1643, with MARY, the daughter of RICHARD POWELL, of *Forest-Hill*, near Shotover in Oxfordshire: he was a justice of the peace, and a person of great respectability in that part of the country. Toland

and keep it alive.—“ The art of printing, soon after its introduction, was looked upon (as well in England as in other countries) as merely a matter of state, and subject to the coercion of the crown. It was therefore regulated with us by the king’s proclamation, prohibitions, charters of privilege, and of license, and finally by the decrees of the court of star-chamber, which limited the number of printers, and of presses which each should employ, and prohibited new publications, unless previously approved by proper licensers. On the demolition of this odious jurisdiction in 1641, the long parliament of Charles I. after their rupture with that prince, assumed the same powers as the star-chamber exercised with respect to the licensing of books; and in 1643, 1647, 1649, and 1652, (Scobell I. 44, 134; II. 88, 232;) issued their ordinances for that purpose, founded principally on the star-chamber decree of 1637. In 1662 was passed the statute 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 33, which (with some few alterations) was copied from the parliamentary ordinances. This act expired in 1679, but was revived by statute 1 Jac. II. c. 17, and continued till 1692. It was then continued for two years longer by statute 4th W. and M. c. 24. But though frequent attempts were made by the government to revive it, in the subsequent part of that reign, (Com. Journ. II. Feb. 1694, 26th Nov. 1695, 22nd Oct. 1696, 9th Feb. 1697, 31st Jan. 1698,) yet the parliament resisted it so strongly, that it finally expired, and the press became properly free in 1694, and has ever since so continued.”

says: "But whether it was that this young woman, accustomed to a large jovial family, could not live in a philosophical retirement; or that she was not perfectly satisfied with the person of her husband; or lastly, that because all her relations were all addicted to the royal interest, his democratical principles were disagreeable to their humour, (nor is it improbable the father repented of his match, upon the prospect of some success on the king's side, who then had his headquarters at Oxford) or whatever was the reason, 'tis certain, that after he had enjoyed her company at London for about a month, she was invited by her friends to spend the rest of the summer in the country; to which he consented, on condition that she returned at Michaelmas. Yet he saw her not at the time appointed, and after receiving several of his letters without sending him any answer, she did at length positively refuse to come, dismissing his messenger with contempt."

That a man of his high and honourable spirit, should have been incensed at such contemptuous conduct, from so near and endeared a companion as his wife, may be easily conceived, and ought not to be condemned as improper resentment: whether all the steps which he took in consequence were alike justifiable, will admit of a serious question, and respecting which there will perhaps be different opinions.

As all his attempts to induce his wife to return to his house proved ineffectual, he thought his own reputation and repose demanded that he should declare her to be no longer his wife! It is said that he endeavoured to make his constrained widowhood, for nearly four years, as easy and cheerful as he could; to which the sprightly wit and good sense of Lady MARGARET LEE, daughter of the Earl of *Marlborough*, greatly contributed. He frequently visited her ladyship; and the high esteem he entertained for her, has been well expressed in a sonnet found among his occasional poems.

Having taken his firm resolution to repudiate his wife, and never to receive her back again, he thought it proper publicly to attempt a justification of this step, and therefore published, in the year 1644, his work on the "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." This he dedicated to the Parliament, and the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; hoping, that as they were employed in promoting a general reformation of the kingdom, they might take this subject also of *domestic liberty* into consideration; being of opinion that all the boasted *freedom* of public judicatures signified little, if the mean while a husband must be obliged to submit to a kind of *servitude* in domestic life, below the dignity of a man, or, as he expressed it, "a disconsolate household captivity,

without refuge or redemption." His design was to show that there are other sufficient reasons for *divorce* besides adultery, and that to prohibit any sort of divorce, but such as are excepted by *MOSES*, is unjust, and against the reason of the law. The grand position he maintains is, "*That indisposition, unfitness, and contrary humours, proceeding from any unchangeable cause in nature, hindering, and always likely to hinder, the main ends and benefits of conjugal society, that is to say, peace and delight, are greater reasons of divorce than ADULTERY, or natural FRIGIDITY, provided there be a mutual consent for separation.*"

On this book appearing, the clergy in general declaimed against it, charging its author with atheism, heresy, lewdness, &c. &c. They daily instigated the Parliament, but in vain, to pass their censure of condemnation upon it: and at length one of them, on a day of public humiliation, told them that "there was a wicked book abroad which deserved to be burnt, and that among their other sins they ought to repent: it had not yet been branded with a mark of their displeasure." This, and the opposition to it by some other ministers, led him to publish his *Tetrachordon*, which also was dedicated to the Parliament. This was an exposition of the four chief passages of Scripture that treat of marriage,

viz. Gen. i. 27 : ii. 18, &c. ; Deut. xxiv. 1 ; Matt. v. 31, &c. ; and Matt. xxix. 3, &c. Other passages from the Epistles he also occasionally explains, and then produced the authority of some eminent men who favoured his opinion. The following lines are upon this subject :—

“I did but prompt the age to quit their clogs,
By the known rules of antient liberty;
When strait a barbarous noise environs me,
Of owls, and cuckoos, asses, apes and dogs :
As when those hinds that were transformed to frogs,
Railed at LATONA’S twin-born progeny,
Which after held the Sun and Moon in fee;
But this is got by casting pearls to hogs,
That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when truth would set them free;
License they mean when they cry *Liberty* :
For who loves that, must first be wise and good ;
But from that mark how far they roave we see,
For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood.”

He published yet another piece on this subject, entitled, “The Judgments of the famous Reformer, MARTIN BUCER, touching Divorce, extracted out of the second book of the kingdom of Christ, dedicated to king Edward the Sixth.” Bucer exactly agreed with MILTON on this subject, though the latter had not seen it till after the publication of his first volume concerning it.

The fourth book on the subject of Divorce was his *Colasterion*, a reply to one of his anonymous answerers, “who,” it is said, “added to all the

dulness and ignorance imaginable, the greatest degree imaginable of bitterness and malice." It is probable MILTON would not have humbled himself to answer this, but for the circumstance of the Rev. J. CARYL, the commentator on the Book of JOB, having put to it his *imprimateur*, adding to it his own condemnation of MILTON's opinions. How very angry he was with Mr. Caryl will appear from the following taunting reproach : "Mr. Licenser, you are reputed a man discrete enough, that is, to an ordinary competence in all these : but now your turn is to hear what your own hand has earned you, that when you suffered this nameless hangman to cast into public such a spiteful contumely upon a name and person deserving of the church and state equally to yourself, and one who has done more to the present advancement of your own tribe, than you or many of them have done for themselves ; you forgot to be either honest, religious, or discrete. Whatever the state might do concerning it, supposing it were a matter to expect evil from it, I should not doubt to meet among them with wise, and honourable, and knowing men. But as to this brute libel, so much the more impudent and lawless for the abused authority which it bears, I say again, that I abominate the censures of rascals and their licensers."

To prove himself a firm believer in the maxims

which he had produced on this most provoking occasion, he was seriously negotiating another marriage with Miss Davis, a young lady of great wit and beauty. This, however, was prevented by a most unexpected occurrence. Being one day at the house of a relation named *Blackborough*, in St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often visited, he was extremely surprised to meet his wife there, whom he had never expected to see again. She threw herself at his feet, confessed her fault, and with tears intreated his forgiveness. At first he appeared to be unmoved and inexorable; but at length the generosity of his temper, and the intercession of some mutual friends, conquered his anger, and a perfect reconciliation took place, with the promise of oblivion of every thing which had happened. As a proof of his having forgiven her and her relations, who it is most probable had been the principal cause of all his domestic troubles, he received his wife's father and mother, and several of her brothers and sisters, into his own house, their political party having declined in influence. This was more than they could have expected from him, as they had doubtless been the occasion of separating "those whom God had joined together," and had thus exposed themselves to a divine malediction: "Cursed is he that parteth man and wife." MILTON kindly entertained them until their own affairs were in a better condition.

The scene which we have been constrained to survey, is most humiliating and confounding. One is ready to say, Oh! that oblivion had in kindness cast its mantle over such disgusting details. The champion of a nation's right, the fearless, undaunted assertor of civil and religious liberty, and the successful advocate of the unshackled press, himself a domestic *tyrant*! objecting to the restraint with which God and nature had guarded the marriage union, and refusing to the wife of his bosom, the companion of his life, those equal rights to which with himself she was justly entitled. "*Yet she is thy COMPANION, and the wife of thy COVENANT: and did he not make ONE?*" (Malachi ii. 14.) MILTON and his wife did not, it is evident, understand the principles of the marriage covenant: they were not "*one!*" but *two!*" Nor did he treat her, so far as it appears, as if she was his "*companion,*" but his household *slave!* Nor did he fulfil the conditions of the "*covenant,*" into which he had voluntarily entered when she consented to become his wife, a covenant of reciprocal duties, and of equal privileges. His biographers say, that Mrs. MILTON "refused to return;" perhaps she was justifiable in that refusal: she might have been treated superciliously and contemptuously by her husband.

"He wrote several letters to her which she did

not answer." It would have been better had he paid her an affectionate visit. He then sent a servant, doubtless *demanding* her from her father, and then "she positively refused to come, and dismissed the messenger with contempt!" Admitting the supposition to be just, that he had sent his lordly commands, requiring her submission to his authority, she acted rightly and with a becoming spirit. He became incensed at this, and resolved, out of regard to his "honour" and "repose," to repudiate her as no longer worthy his confidence or affection. A husband who could act with this haughty feeling towards his *companion*, must have strange notions of what, in such a case, was *honourable*; and as to seeking *repose* by such means, was the most unlucky plan he could have adopted, as the sequel abundantly shows. An obedient regard to the directions of the Apostle Paul, (Eph. v. 21—25) would have soon settled all this strife, or, more properly speaking, would have prevented it altogether.

In this matter MILTON appears like Samson when shorn of his Nazarite locks—become "weak, and as other men." MILTON's great strength, like that of Samson, lay in his *knowledge of, and obedience to, the principles of revealed truth*. While he adhered closely to these, he snapped with ease "the green withs," and the "new ropes;" and when even the "seven locks of his

head were woven with a web, however closely fastened, "he went away with both the pin of the beam and the web." He dispatched with almost infinite ease all the sophistry, and learning, and opprobrium employed by the bishops and others to bind and afflict him :

" ————— Who single combatant
 Duel'd their armies rank'd in proud array,
 Himself an army, now unequal match
 To save himself against a coward arm'd
 At one spear's length. O ever failing trust
 In mortal strength ! And oh ! what not in man
 Deceivable and vain ?"*

But on this subject of divorce, oh ! how weak are his struggles, how nerveless his arguments, how pettish his temper, how peevish his language ! The weakest of his opponents, in this controversy, were his match, more than his equal ; and like Samson too, he does not appear to have been aware that "*the Lord had departed from him !*" That he who had treated the *Fathers* with such contempt should now have appealed to them ; and even to an *apocryphal* writer for support ! That so powerful a mind should have rested an argument in relation to *positive law*, upon the shifting ground of *expediency* ! Oh ! what merriment it must have afforded to his enemies to see this mental giant bound with fetters of brass, and grinding in the prison house of Gaza ! And how must he have been annoyed by the noise of the "owls,

* Samson Agonistes.

and cuckoos, asses, apes, and dogs!" Alas! that he should have been entirely ignorant of the ungodly temper which he was himself manifesting, and of the erroneous and inconsistent principles which he was pleading. Is it not surprising that he could not see his own face in the mirror of his own transparent lines upon this subject? namely, those

"That bawl for freedom in their senseless mood,
And still revolt when *truth* would make them free;
Licence they mean when they cry *Liberty*;
For who loves *that*, must first be wise and good."

COWPER, though a bachelor, understood this subject of "Domestic Duties," better than MILTON the married man! In his inimitable little piece, entitled "*Mutual forbearance necessary to the Marriage state*;" he has in fine satire exposed the trifling circumstances which often lead to "jar and tumult, and intestine war." He there says, in his own best manner:

"Alas! and is domestic strife,
That sorest ill of human life,
A plague so little to be feared,
As to be wantonly incurred,
To gratify a fretful passion,
On every trivial provocation?
The kindest and the happiest pair
Will find occasion to *forbear*;
And something, every day they live,
To *pity*, and perhaps *forgive*."

It appears most evident to me, that in regard to his treatment of his wife, MILTON was neither "wise nor good;" and that he unconsciously, while pleading with the parliament to grant him "domestic *liberty*," was seeking a "*license*" to absolve him from the just and equitable restraints of the laws of God and man. And oh! what a closing scene, when his obstinate wife, rather than see her place occupied by another, bathed in tears, falls at the feet of her still inexorable husband, supplicating his forgiveness! It was well for both parties that "his hair had begun to grow again after he had been shaven;" rather that his God had mercifully returned to him, and stirred up the *generosity* of his nature to forgive his humbled companion, who seems to have at last consented to receive forgiveness upon the condition of being "obliged to accept a kind of servitude at home below the dignity of a *woman*!" And this domestic lord received to his bosom a *slave*, instead of an *equal*! At all events, I rejoice that they were again reconciled, and that our English SAMSON had afterwards sufficient strength, as he evinced in his Defences of the People of England, by removing the two pillars of passive obedience and non-resistance, to pull down the temple of despotism upon the lords of the Philistines!

The first of the before-named elaborate works,

on this most painful and humiliating subject, as has been mentioned, he dedicated "To the Parliament of England, with the Assembly of Divines at Westminster." He thus commences his appeal: "If it were seriously askt, (and it would be no untimely question, renowned Parliament, select Assembly,) who, of all teachers and masters that ever have taught, hath drawn most disciples after him, both in religion and manners, it might not be untruly answered—*Custom*. Though *Virtue* be commended for the most persuasive in her *theory*, and *Conscience*, as the plain demonstration of the *spirit*, finds most evincing; yet, whether it be the secret of divine will, or the original blindness we are born in, so it happens, for the most part, that *Custom* still is silently received for the best instructor. You it concerns chiefly, worthies in Parliament, on whom, as on our deliverers, all our grievances and cares, by the merits of your eminence and fortitude are devolved; *me* it concerns next, having, with much labour and faithful diligence, first found out, or at least, with a fearless and communicative candour, first published, to the manifest good of Christendom, that which, calling to mind every thing mortal and immortal, I believe unfainedly to be true. Let not other men think their conscience bound to search continually after truth, to pray for enlightenings from above, to publish what they think they have

so attained, and debar me from conceiving myself tied by the same duties."

Having asserted that the inviolability of marriage had no other law but *custom*, he then states, in few words, the arguments of his opponents, founded upon the practice of divorces having been *permitted* by Moses, though not sanctioned by the law of God. "This," he says, "is the common doctrine, that adulterous and injurious divorces were not connived only, but, with eye open, outlaw'd of old for hardness of heart. But that opinion, I trust, by this following argument hath been well read, will be left for one of the mysteries of an indigent Antichrist to farm out incest by, and those his other tributary pollutions. The superstition of the Papist is, *touch not, taste not*, when God bids both; and ours is *part not, separate not*, when God and charity both permit and command. 'Let all your things be done in charity,' saith St. Paul; and his Master saith, '*she is the fulfilling of the law*;' yet now a civil, an indifferent, a somewhat dissuaded law of marriage must be forc't upon us to fulfil, not only without *charity*, but against her. No place in heaven or earth, except hell, where charity may not enter; yet marriage, the ordinance of our solace and contentment, the remedy of our loneliness, will not admit now of either charity or merey to come in, and mediate or pacifie the fierceness of this gentle or-

dinance, the unremedied lowliness of this remedy. Advise ye well, supreme senate, if *charity* be thus excluded and expulst, how ye will defend the untainted honor of your own actions and proceedings. Whatever else ye can enact, will scarce concern a third part of the British name; but the benefit and good of this your magnanimous example, will easily spread far beyond the banks of Tweed, and the Norman isles. It would not be the first or the second time, since our ancient *Druides*, by whom this island was the cathedral of philosophy in France, left off their pagan rites, that England hath had this honour vouchsafed from heav'n, to give reformation to the world. Who was it but our English *Constantine*, that baptized the Roman Empire? Who was it but the *Northumbrian Willibrode* and *Winfride*, of Devon, with their followers, were the first apostles of Germany? Who but *Alcuim* and *Wicklif*, our countrymen, opened the eyes of Europe, the one in arts, the other in religion? Let not England forget her precedence of teaching nations how to live. For me, as far as my part leads me, I have already the greatest gain of assurance and inward satisfaction, to have done in this, nothing unworthy of an honest life, and studies well employed. With that event, among the wise and right-understanding of men I am secure: but how among the drove of custom and prejudice this

will be relisht—by such whose capacity, since their youth run ahead into the easie creek of a system or a medulla, sails there at will, under the blown phisiognomy of their unlaboured rudiments—for them, whatever their taste will be, I have also surety sufficient, from the entire league there hath always been between formal ignorance and grave obstinacy.

“I seek not to seduce the simple and illiterate; my errand is to find out the choicest and the learnedest, who have this high gift of wisdom, to answer solidly, or to be convinc’t. I crave it from the piety, the learning, and the prudence, which is housed in this place. It might, perhaps, have been more fitly written in another tongue; and I had done so, but that the esteem I have for my country’s judgment, and the love I bear to my native language, to serve it first with what I endeavour, made me speak it thus, ere I assay the verdict of outlandish readers. And perhaps also here I might have ended nameless, but that the address of these lines, chiefly to the *Parliament of England*, might have seemed ungrateful, not to acknowledge by whose religious care, unwearyed watchfulness, courageous and heroick resolutions, I enjoy the peace and studious leisure to remain, *the Honourer and Attendant of their noble worth and virtues*,—JOHN MILTON.”

In the preface he thus fairly states his de-

sign:—"This therefore shall be the task and period of this discourse,—to prove, first, that other reasons of divorce, besides adultery, were, by the law of Moses, and are yet to be allowed by the christian magistrate, as a piece of justice ; and that the words of Christ are not hereby contraried. Next, that to prohibit absolutely any divorce whatsoever, except those which Moses excepted, is against the reason of the law. Not that license and levity, and an unconsented breach of faith should-herein be countenanc't; but that some conscionable and tender pitty might be had of those, who have, unwarily, and in a thing which they have never practised before, made themselves the bondmen of a luckless and helpless matrimony. This only is desired of them, who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be still, and hear all out, nor think it equal to answer deliberate reason with sudden heat and noise; remembering this, that many truths, now of renowned esteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from singular and private thoughts; while the most of men were otherwise possest, and had the fate, at first, to be generally exploded, and exclaimed on by many violent opposers."

In the first chapter he lays down this position :
"That indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, arising from a cause in nature unchange-

able, hindering, and ever likely to hinder, the main benefits of conjugal society, which are solace and peace, is a greater reason of divorce than natural frigidity, especially if there be no children." In confirmation of this, he quotes, with approbation, "what learned *Fagius*" hath said upon this law:—"The law of God," says he, 'permitted divorce for the help of humane weakness. For every one that of necessity separates cannot live single. That Christ denied divorce to *his own*, hinders us not; for what is that to the *unregenerate*, who hath not attained such perfection? Let not the remedy be despised, that was given to weakness. And when Christ saith, who marries the divorc't commits adultery, it is to be understood, *if he had any plot* in the divorce.'" *See Milton's Works*, vol. i. p. 100.

In the second chapter he says:—"And what this chief end was of creating woman; to be joined with man, his own instituting words declare, and are infallible to inform us what is marriage, and what is no marriage, unless we can think them set there to no purpose. '*It is not good,*' said he, '*that man should be alone; I will make him an help meet for him.*' From which words, so plain, less cannot be concluded, than, that in God's intentions, a meet and happy conversation is the chiefest and noblest end of marriage." The inference which he draws from this, is, that *the*

want of a suitable disposition of mind in a wife, preventing her from being an "help meet," is a sufficient cause, according to the law of Moses, for giving her a bill of divorcement, and putting her away.

In chapter the third, he says:—"But some are ready to object, that the *disposition* ought seriously to be considered before. But let them know again, that, for all the wariness that can be used, it may befall a discreet man to be mistaken in his choice, and we have plenty of examples. Whereas the sober man may easily chance to meet with a *mind*, to all other due consideration inaccessible, and to all the more estimable and superior purposes of matrimony useless, and almost lifeless: and what a solace, what a fit help such a consort would be, through the whole life of a man, is more painful to conjecture than to have experienced."

In the fourth chapter he attempts to prove, that, if a man has, by mistake, taken for his wife "a mute and spiritless mate," who cannot, as "a speaking help," be such "a ready and reviving associate in marriage, as shall soothe all the sorrows and casualties of life," he is fully justified in putting such an one away, and taking one who is suitable for "the note which now directs him, and the loneliness which leads him still powerfully to seek a fit help, hath not the least grain of a

sin in it, if he be worthy to understand himself."

In chapter the fifth, he pursues his argument in showing the temptations to which a man would find himself exposed, who having "not neglected that sure entrance which was to be obtained, to the comforts and enjoyments of a contented marriage."—"When he shall find himself bound fast to an uncomplying discord of nature, or as it often happens to an image of earth and fleam, with whom he looked to be the co-partner of a sweet and gladsome society, and sees withal that this bondage is now inevitable, though he be almost the strongest christian, he will be ready to despair in virtue, and mutiny against Divine Providence."

In chapter the sixth he is quite metaphorical: "And of matrimonial love, no doubt but that was chiefly meant, which by the ancient sages was thus parabled: That love, if he be not twin born, yet hath a brother named *Anteros*; whom, while he seeks all about, his chance is to meet with many falls and feigning desires that wander singly, up and down in his likeness, &c.—shewing us that love in marriage cannot subsist without being mutual; and where love cannot be, there can be left of wedlock nothing but the empty husk of an outside matrimony, as undelightful and unpleasing to God, as any other kind of

hypocrisie. So far is his command from tying men to the observance of duties, which there is no help for, but they must be dissembled." In this chapter he gives a fifth reason that an unsuitable disposition in a wife "hinders and disturbs the whole life of a christian."—"Who sees not therefore how much more christianly it would be to break by divorce that which is more broken by undue and forcible keeping, rather than to *cover the altar of the Lord with continual tears, so that he regardeth not the offering any more*; rather that this, the whole worship of a christian man's life should languish and fade away beneath the weight of an incurable grief and discouragement. He then shews that the reason which was given for divorcing an "*Idolatress*," which was, "lest his heart should be alienated from the true worship of God," applies with all its force, in the case of an unsuitable disposition in a wife: "for in the account of God it comes all to one, that the wife looses him a servant, and therefore, by all the united force of the *Decalogue*, she ought to be disbanded, unless we must set marriage above God and charity, which is a doctrine of devils, no less than forbidding to marry."

In the eighth chapter he undertakes to prove (from 1 Cor. chap. vii.) that "an idolatrous heretick wife ought to be divorced after a convenient time given for convenience." "With what a

vehemence (he says) Job, the patientest of men, rejected the desperate councils of his wife; and *Moses*, the meekest, being thoroughly offended with the profane speeches of *Zipporah*, sent her back to her father! But if they shall perpetually, at our elbow, seduce us from the true worship of God, or defile and daily scandalize our conscience by their hopeless continuance in misbelief, then even, in the due progress of reason, and that ever equal proportion which justice proceeds by, it cannot be imagined that this cited place commands less than a total and final separation from such an adherent, at least that no force should be used to keep them together; while we remember that God commanded *Abraham* to send away his irreligious wife and son, for the offences which they gave in a pious family: and it may be guest that *David* for a like cause disposed of *Michal* in such sort, as little differed from dismissal."

In the tenth chapter he undertakes to show, "that Adultery is not the greatest breach of Matrimony—that there may be other violations as great."—"I now," says he, "having shewn that disproportion, contrariety, or meanness of mind, may justly be divorced, by proving clearly that the prohibition thereof opposes the express end of God's institution," &c. In this chapter he attempts to prove, "that to prohibit divorce

sought for natural cases, is against nature.”—He says: “And that there is a hidden efficacie of love and hatred in man, as well as in other kinds, not moral, but natural, which though not always in the choice, yet in the success of marriage will ever be most predominant, besides daily experience, the author of *Ecclesiasticus*, whom wisdom hath set him next to the Bible, acknowledges, xiii. 16. ‘*A man,*’ saith he, ‘*will cleave to his like.*’”

In the eleventh chapter he undertakes to prove, “That sometimes continuance in marriage may be evidently the shortening or endangering of life to either party, both law and divinity concluding that life is to be preferred before *marriage*; the intended solace of life !”

In the twelfth chapter, I suspect we have the true causes assigned why Mrs. MILTON had left, and refused to return to her disconsolate, solitary husband. “It is most sure,” he says, “that some who are not plainly defective in body, yet are destitute of all other marriageable gifts, and consequently have not the calling to marry, &c. *Yet it is sure that many such, not of their own desire, but by the persuasion of friends, or not knowing themselves, do often enter into wedlock; where, finding the difference at length between the duties of a married life, and the gifts of a single life, what unfitness of mind, what wear-*

someness, what scruples and doubts to an incredible offence and displeasure are like to follow between, may soon be imagined; whom thus to shut up, and immure, and shut up together, the one with a mischosen mate, the other in a mistaken calling, is not a cause which wisdom and tenderness ought to use. As for the customs that some parents and guardians have of forcing marriages, it will be better to say nothing of such savage inhumanity, but only thus—that the law which gives not all freedom of divorce to any creature indued with reason so assassinated, is next to cruelty.” This supposed case I have no doubt draws back the curtain, and shows us the scene of family discord which, even during the *honey-moon*, existed in the house at the end of an alley, looking into a garden in Aldersgate Street! “And like a bird that is hampered, he struggles to get loose.” Quoting the words of our Lord, “*All men cannot receive this saying, save they to whom it is given: he that is able to receive it, let him receive it.*” What saying is this which is left to a man’s choice, to receive or not receive? What but the married life? Was our Saviour so mild and so favourable to the weakness of a single man, and is he turned on the sudden so rigorous and inexorable to the distresses and extremities of an ill wedded man? Did he so graciously give leave to change the

better single life for the worst married life? Did he open to us this hazardous and accidental door of marriage, to shut upon us like the fate of death, without retracting or returning, without permitting to change the worst, most insupportable, most unchristian mischance of marriages, for all the mischiefs and sorrows that could ensue, being an ordinance which was especially given as a cordial and exhilarating cup of solace, the better to bear our cup of afflictions? Questionless this were a hard-heartedness of undivorcing, worse than in the Jews, which, they say, extorted the allowance from *Moses*, and is utterly dissonant from all the doctrines of our Saviour." "Again," says he, "Christ himself tells us who should not be put asunder, namely, *those whom God hath joined together*. A plain solution of this great controversy, if men would but use their eyes. For whom is it that God may be said to join? Only those where the minds are fitly disposed and enabled to maintain a cheerful conversation to the solace and love of each other, according as God intended and promised in the very first foundation of Matrimony; *I will make him a helpmeet for him*. For surely what God intended and promised, that only can be thought to be his joining, and not the contrary."

I acknowledge that I have drudged through this erroneous pamphlet with much pain of

heart; and could have wished, had it been possible, to have gone backward and thrown a veil over such shameful reasonings, on a subject which the word of God has made so plain, that "the wayfaring man though a fool, need not err," if he pay a simple regard to both the laws of God and man in regard to marriage. My opinion is, that admitting the existence of all the defects in Mrs. MILTON's temper and mental capacity, and even her want of the knowledge of religion, that these were to her husband reasons why he should have exercised great "forbearance," and probably, in many cases, "forgiveness," but were no sufficient ground for his "putting away his wife and marrying another," which nothing but her having dishonoured his bed could have justified.* Will not the following language of the prophet *Malachi* apply to this case?—" *Because the Lord hath been witness between thee and the wife of thy youth, against whom thou hast dealt treacherously: yet is she thy compa-*

* AUBREY relates of Mrs. MILTON, that she was brought up and bred where there was a great deal of company and merriment, as dancing, &c; and when she came to live with her husband, she found it solitary. No company came to her; and she often heard her nephews cry and be beaten. This life was irksome to her, and so she went home to her parents. He sent for her home after some time. "*As for wronging his bed, I never heard the least suspicion of that; nor had he of that any jealousy.*"—Quoted by Todd.

nion, and the wife of thy covenant. And did he not make one?—That is, as I understand it, does not the covenant into which a man and woman enters at marriage, make them *one*? “*One*” as to mutual duties; “*one*” as to mutual rights. Now, so far as appears, MILTON had no thought as to his being under any obligation to bear with the infirmities, and to overlook the provocations of his wife! He does not say a word which indicates that his wife had a claim upon him—even admitting she had given him great occasion for offence—for his affection and pardon. I fear MILTON cannot, in regard to the spirit and treatment manifested towards her, (as she ought to have been considered by him as his “companion, bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh,” and to have been loved by him “even as Christ loved the Church,”) be defended from the charge of *domestic tyranny*. It is most humiliating, that the man who so powerfully defended the religious and civil rights and liberties of the nation, against a tyrannical monarch and oppressive prelacy, should have himself treated the wife of his bosom in a similar oppressive manner! As regards domestic jars, I should never think the question applicable, Who gave the first offence? but rather, Which will be the first in showing a spirit of, and adopting means for, promoting reconciliation? But did MILTON act as a husband ought to do

towards his obstinate wife? Should he not have gone himself to her father's house, and entreated her; rather than have sent his servant with his commands that she should instantly return home; accompanied probably with a threat, if she did not come immediately he would not receive her at all? I do not wish to justify what might perhaps have been ill-temper and perverseness in Mrs. MILTON; but surely she did not act wrong in refusing to submit to the indignity of being treated rather as his servant than as his companion — his other-self! Nor is it greatly to the credit of MILTON, that *her* obstinacy should have first yielded, by whatever means it was overcome: nor that he for a time seemed to be inexorable, even while this "weaker vessel" was supplicating the forgiveness of her "own husband," with strong cryings and tears.—Well, I drop the curtain, rejoicing that he was not suffered, by the providence of God, to go on madly in the way of his heart, and by marrying Miss Davis, to have consummated his brutal conduct towards his erringwife, and thus have put an irremediable brand of infamy upon his own character; the which perhaps is still the fairest, even with this glaring defect, of any of which our country or the world has produced!

The fact is, MILTON in this instance appears "to have been left by God to walk in his own

counsels," in order that he might be tried, and know what was in his heart. Instead of trusting in God with all his heart, he leaned to his own understanding; and thus furnished an affecting proof, that the best of men are but men at the best! God prevents, by his providence, that any of his servants shall become idols of adoration: and will let it be seen there are none of them but what, at times, need the compassion even of their fellow-servants!

It is deeply affecting, that such a great man as MILTON should have been "made the reproach of the foolish."*

* As a proof of this remark, take the following extract from Familiar Letters, Vol. iv. By James Howell, Esq. 1655:—

"But that opinion of a poor shallow-brained puppy, who upon any cause of disaffections, would have men to have a privilege to change their wives or repudiate them, deserves to be hist at rather than confuted: for nothing can tend more to usher in all confusions throughout the world: therefore that wise-aker deserves of all others to wear a loting horn." p. 19, Letter vii. In the Index he thus refers to MILTON's pamphlets on Divorce: "Of a noddy that writ a book of wifing!"

To this might be added the taunting reply of an anonymous author, to which the pious Caryl prefixed the following.

Imprimatur, "An answer to a book, entitled, The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, or a Plea for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and all other married Women, against Di-

I have been particular in extracting the reasons of MILTON for this new and dangerous opinion, that the judicious reader may form his own judgment. I will now quote the concluding paragraph of his pamphlet, which he doubtless intended should concentrate the strength of all his arguments :—
 “Last of all,” he says, “to those whose mind is still to maintain textual restriction, whereof the bare sound cannot consist sometimes with humanity, much less with charity, I would ever answer by putting them in remembrance of a command above all commands, which they seem to have forgotten, and who spake it; in comparison whereof this [the law concerning marriage] which they exalt, is but a petty and subordinate precept. *Let them* go therefore with whom I am

vorce : wherein both sides are vindicated from all bondage of Canon Law, and other mistakes whatsoever : and the unsound principles of the Author are examined, and fully confuted by authority of Holy Scriptures, the laws of this land and sound reason.—London 1644.

“To preserve the strength of the marriage bond, and the honour of that estate, against those sad breaches and dangerous abuses of it, which *common* discontents (on this side adultery) are likely to make in unstaid minds, and men given to change, by taking in or grounding themselves upon the opinion answered, and with good reason confuted in this treatise, I have sanctioned the printing and publishing of it.—JOSEPH CARYL.”

“ November 14, 1644.”

loth to couple them, yet they will needs run into the same blindness with the Pharisees; *let them go therefore* and consider well what this lesson means, *I will have mercy and not sacrifice*; for on that saying, *all the law and prophets depend*, much more the gospel, whose end and excellence is mercy and peace: or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this, which yet I shall not doubt to leave with them as a conclusion? “*That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet, but his commandments hath he left all under the feet of charity.*”

It may be first enquired, in reply to this plausible statement, whether *positive* commands are to be superseded by *moral* considerations; whether the cases were parallel of the Apostles on the sabbath-day rubbing out a few grains of wheat in their hands to check the cravings of hunger, or David eating the shew-bread when he was hungry, which was provided specially for the priests; and MILTON having, without assigning any such cause in the conduct of his wife as the Scriptures declare to be sufficient, resolved to dissolve the marriage union?—I trow not. His speaking of positive commands, especially of that which concerns marriage as “a petty and subordinate precept,” is certainly to have undervalued the wisdom of God in that law; and his stating that “the Son of God hath left all his commandments under the feet of

charity ;” as if *positive* commands were to be superseded by convenience, is a sentiment, to say the least of it, so lax and so capable of being abused, that there is no Antinomian *licentiousness* but may be sanctioned by it, under the name of Christian *liberty*. According to his reasoning, *all other things*, in regard to the welfare of the church and the rights of men, the Son of God hath authority to command and control ; but the regulations concerning the duties of marriage, he has left to what every one who calls himself his disciple may keep or not keep, observe or not observe, according as it might agree with what in regard to the husband, not respecting at all the rights of the wife, appears to the party himself to be not duty, but charity. Was not this to say, in effect, “ ergo, none but Pharisees will contend that I, JOHN MILTON, am not at liberty to repudiate my chaste wife, Mary Milton ; and to marry another, without in my case violating the law of Christ, or committing adultery.” If, in this unhappy affair, this greatest of men was not left of God to be proved, as in the case of Hezekiah, “ that he might learn what was in his heart,” I am greatly mistaken in my view of his conduct. He probably learnt, by a comparison of his wife’s three years’ absence, with the domestic happiness he enjoyed after her return, that passion and not reason had guided his

course; and lamented, it may be hoped, that anger and resentment, and not forgiveness and forbearance, had so long biassed and governed his mind. I wish I could produce any express declaration from his subsequent writings, to prove that MILTON, like "Hezekiah, humbled himself for the pride of his heart;" for to this vice must be attributed the obstinacy and resentment, which interrupted his felicity.

The fact is, that MILTON had adopted a false principle of argument. He had argued upon the principle of *expediency* in reference to a point of *revealed* and *positive* law. And therefore, however specious his reasonings might have appeared to the inconsiderate, they could have had no weight with the judicious; nor do his sentiments seem to have prevailed to any considerable extent.*

* Mr. Todd says, in his *Life of MILTON*, p. 52, "Ephraim Pagitt, in his description of Hereticks and Sectaries of that period, mentions the sect of *Divorcers*, with him who wrote the *Treatise on Divorce* at their head." My copy of this most ridiculous book, written by "the late minister of St. Edmond's, Lumbard Street," is "the sixth edition, whereunto is added the last year, 1661," &c. I cannot find the paragraph quoted by Mr. Todd, but there is the following notice, p. 100, under the head 'Concerning Divorces:': "Of Independents,—Mr. Milton permits a man to put away his wife upon his mere pleasure, without any fault in her, but for any dislike, or disparity of nature."

Since writing the above remarks, I have met with the following sentiments of the venerable Bishop Hall, which I give in a note in confirmation of the correctness of the view which I have taken.*

* This work is entitled, "Resolutions and Decisions of divers practical cases of Conscience," printed in London, 1649. The bishop enquires, p. 388, "Whether marriage lawfully made, may admit of any cause of divorce, save only for the violation of the marriage bed by fornication and adultery?" He answers, "I have heard too much of, and once saw, a licentious pamphlet, throwne abroad in these lawless times, in the defence and encouragement of divorces, (not to be sued out, that solemnity needed not,) but to be arbitrarily given by the disliking husband to his displeasing and unquiet wife—upon this ground principally, that marriage was instituted for the help and comfort of man; when, therefore, the match proves such, as that the wife doth but pull downe a side, and by her innate peevishnesse, and either sullen, or pettish and forward disposition, brings rather discomfort to her husband, the end of marriage being hereby frustrate, why should it not, saith he, be in the husband's power (after some unprevailing means of reclamation be attempted) to procure his own peace and contentment in a fitter match?"

"Wo is me! to what a pass is the world come, that a Christian pretending to reformation should dare to render so loose a project to the publique. I must seriously professe, when I first did cast my eye upon the front of the booke, I supposed some great wit meant to try his skill in the maintainance of this so wild and improbable a paradoxe; but ere I could have run over some of those too-well penned pages, I found the author was in earnest, and meant

An extract from a work written against the Baptists by Dr. DANIEL FEATLY, will show the manner in which the Presbyterians treated MILTON, respecting his "Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce." Speaking of what he considered the awful sentiments of the Baptists on the subject of the sole headship of Christ in his church ; that the civil magistrate had no authority in spiritual matters over the conscience ; and that the doctrine of punishing men for conscience sake, was the crying sin of the new English churches, he

seriously to contribute this peece of good counsail in way of Reformation to the wise and sensible care of superiours. I cannot but blush for our age, wherein so bold a motion hath been, amongst others, admitted to the light: what will all the Christian churches through the world, to whose notice those lines shall come, thinke of our wofull degeneration in these deplored times, that so uncouth a design should be set on foot among us?"

Quoting Gen. ii. 24, the good bishop says: "Loe, before ever there was father or mother, or sonne in the world, God hath appointed that the bond betwixt husband and wife shall be more strait and indissoluble than betwixt the parent or the child ; and can any man be so unreasonable as to defend it lawfull, upon some unkind usages, or thwartness of disposition, for parent to abandon and forsake his child, or the sonne to cast off his parent? much less therefore may it be thus betwixt an husband and wife: *they two are one flesh*. Behold here an union of God's making: a man's matched with a shrew: *Thy bone that is fallen to thy lot, that doe thou know upon?* which would not be, if it were altogether free for him to leave that bone, and take another."

adds, "Witness a treatise on Divorce, in which the bands of marriage are let loose to inordinate lusts, and putting away wives for many other causes, besides that which our Saviour only approveth; namely, in case of adultery." He then mentions several other pamphlets, besides this of MILTON's, which had been recently published by the Baptists, to which denomination he belonged.*

*The Rev. Dr. Daniel Featley was doubtless well acquainted with the Baptists. The following account is amusing:—"On October 17, 1641, a famous dispute took place between Dr. Featley and four Baptists, somewhere in Southwark; at which were present Sir John Lenthel and many others. The Doctor published his disputation in 1644; and tells us, in his preface, that he could hardly dip his pen in any other liquor than that of the juice of gall; it is therefore no wonder it is so full of bitterness. He calls the Baptists, (1,) An idle and sottish sect. (2,) A lying and blasphemous sect. (3,) An impure and carnal sect. (4,) A bloody and cruel sect. (5,) A prophane and sacrilegious sect. (6,) Describes the fearful judgments of God, inflicted upon the ring-leaders of that sect. This quarto work is entitled, 'The Dippers dipt; or, the Anabaptists ducked and plunged over head and ears, at a disputation in Southwark.' It is pompously dedicated 'To the most noble lords, with the honourable knights, citizens and burgesses, now assembled in parliament.' It is peculiarly gratifying that the Doctor, with all his malignancy, was not able to exhibit, much less substantiate, any charge against them, except what have been commonly but erroneously alleged against the Baptists in Germany; the disturbances at Munster being no more the effect of the principles of the Baptists, than the riots of London in 1789 were those

The following beautiful sonnet, written just after these scenes of domestic strife had ended, will exhibit the calmed state of MILTON's mind in regard to correct evangelical sentiments, and the highest exercises of religious feeling:—

“ON THE RELIGIOUS MEMORY OF MRS. CATHERINE
THOMSON, MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND, DECEASED
16 DECEMBER, 1646.

“When Faith and Love, which parted from thee never,
Had ripen'd thy just soul to dwell with God,
Meekly thou didst resign this earthly load
Of death, call'd life; which us from life doth sever.
Thy works, and alms, and all thy good endeavour,
Staid not behind, nor in the grave were trod;
But, as faith pointed with her golden rod,
Follow'd thee up to joy and love for ever.
Love led them on, and Faith, who knew them best
Thy handmaids, clad them o'er with purple beams
And azure wings, that up they flew so dress'd,
And spake the truth of thee on glorious themes
Before the Judge; who thenceforth bid thee rest,
And drink thy fill of pure immortal streams.”

His biographer Toland informs us: “And now both his own father dying, and his wife's relations returning to their several habitations, he revived

of Protestants, or those in Birmingham of Episcopallians.”

“The Doctor speaks very contemptuously of his opponents. He calls one of them a ‘brewer's clerk:’ no doubt this was Mr. Kiffin, who had been an apprentice to the

his academic institution of some young gentlemen, with a design, perhaps, of putting in practice the model of education lately published by himself; yet this course was of no long continuance,

famous republican, John Lilburn, of turbulent memory. He it was, too, it is probable, who is called 'Quartermini, the brewer's clerk,' in the pamphlet published in December, 1641, entitled 'New Preachers new.' " (History of Eng. Bap. Vol. i. p. 164.)

Before parting with Dr. Featley, who was a member of "the Assembly of Divines at Westminster," the author hopes he shall be pardoned for giving one extract from this most vituperating pamphlet. It is from "the Epistle to the Reader:"—"This *fire*, [baptism] which in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and King James, and our *gracious* sovereign, [Charles I.] till now was covered in England under the ashes; or if it broke out at any time, by the care of the ecclesiastical and civil magistrates, was soon put out. But of late, since the unhappy distractions which our sins have brought upon us, the temporal sword being otherwise employed, and the spiritual fast locked up in the scabbard, this sect, among others, hath so far presumed upon the patience of the state, that it hath held weekly conventicles, re-baptized hundreds of men and women together, in the twilight, in rivulets and some arms of the Thames, and elsewhere, dipping them over head and ears. It hath printed divers pamphlets in defence of their heresy; yea, and challenged some of our preachers to disputation. Now, although my bent hath been always hitherto against the most dangerous enemies of our church and state, the Jesuits, to extinguish such balls of wild-fire, as they have cast into the bosom of *our* [Presbyterian] *church*; yet seeing this strange fire kindled in the neighbouring parishes, and many Nadabs and Abihus offering it on God's

for he was to have been, in 1647, made adjutant-general to Sir WILLIAM WALLER, but that the new modelling of the army soon following, and Sir William turning cat-in-pan, this design was frustrated."

The same historian says: "A little after FAIRFAX and CROMWELL had marched through the city with the whole army, to quell the insurrection of BROWN and MASSY, [who were] now grown discontented likewise with the parliament, [in December, 1648,] our hero changed his garret for one more accommodated to his circumstances, where, in the midst of all the noise and confusion of arms, he led a quiet and private life, wholly delighted with the muses, and prosecuting his indefatigable search after useful and solid

altar, I thought it my duty to cast upon it the water of Siloam to extinguish it." No one could have possibly guessed that the irritated Doctor's pamphlet was *water*, much less *pure water*, had he not himself called it so! In my copy, one of the sixth edition, there is an engraved frontispiece, in which he is represented as dead, and laid out in his winding-sheet, and his epitaph dated 1645, with plenty of *Greek and Latin!* Six editions of this quarto, of 258 pages sold in six years!! So great and universal was the prejudice against the 'the SECT of Baptists' then, as long since, and still, *every where spoken against!* But as the devil is represented in the picture of the Reformers, puffing at a lighted candle, and saying, "We cannot blow it out!" so Dr. Daniel Featley, with his "many waters," could not quench "*this fire.*"

knowledge." The following lines refer to this period.

WHEN THE ASSAULT WAS INTENDED TO THE CITY.

" Captain, or Colonel, or Knight in arms,
 Whose chance on these defenceless doors may seize,
 If deed of honour did thee ever please,
 Guard them, and him within protect from harms.
 He can requite thee; for he knows the charms
 That call fame on such gentle acts as these,
 And he can spread thy name o'er land and seas,
 Whatever clime the sun's bright circle warms.
 Lift not thy spear against the Muses' bower :
 The great Emathian conqueror bid spare
 The house of Pindarus, when temple and tower
 Went to the ground: And the repeated air
 Of sad Electra's poet had the power
 To save the Athenian walls from ruin bare."

We are now arrived at the period when MILTON was called upon to fill the honourable office of Latin secretary to the council of state, to which he had been called soon after the death of the king.* This public mark of respect from the republican government, for a man who had hitherto been the object of affected scorn, a mere *schoolmaster* in the estimation, first of the PRELATES, and then of the NEW PRIESTS WRIT LARGE! must have been

* He now removed to a lodging in the house of one Thompson, at Charing Cross; and afterwards to apartments provided for him in Scotland Yard: here his wife gave birth to a son, who died 16th of March, 1650.

very galling, and exceedingly mortifying to their narrow and contracted souls. That he who, through their bigotry, had been cited to appear before the House of Lords, to give an account of his *principles*, which even admitting them in any respect to have been erroneous, were not a matter for the cognizance of the civil magistrate; and respecting whom the redoubtable Dr. D. Featly had, in 1644, entreated "The most noble Lords," &c. &c. that he might be cut off as a pestilent Anabaptist; should now have become a member of, or at least a constant attendant on, the chief council of the nation, and who, of course, must have had an influence to restrain the holy brotherhood from punishing those who, as regarded "working the work of the Lord," were better ministers than themselves! One should conclude, they could not have helped thinking that they were the degraded *Haman*, and that MILTON was the exalted *Mordecai*."

The following poem was probably produced by the attempt of the Presbyterians to get his book on Divorce burnt by the common hangman, and himself punished as an heretic in religion.

"ON THE NEW FORCERS OF CONSCIENCE UNDER THE LONG
PARLIAMENT.

"Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
And with stiff vows renounced his liturgy,
To seize the widow'd whore Plurality

From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd;
 Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
 To force our consciences that Christ set free,
 And ride us with a classic hierarchy,
 Taught ye by mere A. S.* and Rutherford?†
 Men, whose life, learning, faith, and pure intent,
 Would have been held in high esteem with Paul,
 Must now be nam'd and printed heretics,
 By shallow Edwards,‡ and Scotch what d'ye call;§
 But we do hope to find out all your tricks,
 Your plots and packing, worse than those of Trent;
 ————— That so the parliament
 May, with their wholesome and preventive shears,
 Clip your phylacteries, though balk your ears,
 ————— and succour *our* just fears,
 When they shall read this clearly in your charge,
New Presbyterian is but *old Priest* WRIT LARGE."

* Adam Stuart, a divine of the church of Scotland, and the author of several polemical tracts; some portions of which commenced with A. S. only prefixed.

† Samuel Rutherford, or Rutherford, one of the chief commissioners of the church of Scotland, and professor of divinity in the church of St. Andrew. He published a great variety of Calvinistic tracts.

‡ Thomas Edwards, minister, a pamphleteering opponent of Milton: whose plan of independency he assailed with shallow invectives.

§ Perhaps Henderson, or Baillie, or Galaspie, Scotch divines: the former of whom appears as "a loving friend," in Rutherford's *Redivivus*; and the latter was one of the ecclesiastical commissioners at Westminster.

CHAPTER IV.

1648—1653.

WHILE the king had been a prisoner, and preparations were making for his trial, the Presbyterians of Sion College were very clamorous with the parliament that no harm might be done to his royal person, as such a proceeding would be a violation of the solemn league and covenant, &c. Their complaints too, after the execution of the king, were very loud.

The following is the statement of Neale, the historian of the Puritans, in reference to this period:—

“The parliament tried several methods to reconcile the Presbyterians to the present administration. Persons were appointed to treat with them, and assure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their ecclesiastical preferments according to law; when this would not do, an order was published, that ministers in their pulpits should not meddle with

state affairs. *After this the famous MR. MILTON was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the seditious preachers with his satirical pen in a most severe manner !*"*

The circumstance of MILTON having employed his pen against those whom he formerly united with in writing against the prelates, has subjected him to the charge of tergiversation. Let it be recollected, however, that MILTON wrote against erroneous *principles*, and finding the Presbyterians enemies to a full toleration in religion, he opposed them on that account as much as he had before opposed the prelates on the same account.

* It would seem from this statement that MILTON was *hired* to write against the Presbyterians: this, however, is not the fact, as the work referred to was written *before* the death of the king in 1648. Another edition, with alterations, was published 1650. Neale had only seen the last edition. I have copied extracts from both.

The following statement from his Second Defence of the People of England, published in 1652, explains the above statement.—“Neither did I write any thing respecting it, (the royal jurisdiction,) till the king, fully proclaimed an enemy by the senate, and overcome in arms, was brought captive to his trial and condemned to suffer death. When, indeed, some of the *Presbyterian* leaders, lately the most inveterately hostile to *Charles*, but now irritated by the prevalence of the *Independents* in the nation and in the senate, and stung with resentment, not of the facts, but of their own want of power to commit it, exclaimed against the sentence of the Parlia-

The work referred to, was entitled, "*The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, proving that it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any who have the power, to call to account a Tyrant, or wicked King, and after due conviction, to depose and put him to death, if the ordinary magistrate have neglected or denied to do it. And that they who of late so much blame deposing, are the men that did it themselves.*"

It thus commences: "If men within themselves would be governed by reason, and not generally ment upon the king, and raised what commotion they could by daring to assert, that the doctrine of the Protestant divines, and of all the reformed churches, was strong in reprobation of this severity to kings; then, at length, I conceived it to be my duty publickly to oppose so much obvious and palpable falsehood. Neither did I then direct my arguments or persuasions personally against *Charles*, but by the testimony of many of the most eminent divines, I proved what course of conduct might lawfully be pursued towards tyrants in general; and with the zeal almost of a preacher, I attacked the strange ignorance, or the wonderful impudence of those men, who had lately amused us with the promises of better things. This work was not published till after the death of the king, and was written rather to tranquillize the minds of men, than to discuss any part of the question respecting *Charles*, a question the decision of which belonged to the magistrate, and not to me, and which had now received its final determination."

It was published in February 1648-9. The king had been beheaded on the 30th of January.

give up their understanding to a double tyrannie, of custom from without, and blind affection from within, they would discern better what it is to favour and uphold the tyrant of a nation. But being slaves within doores, no wonder that they strive so much to have the public state conformably governed to the inward vitious rule, by which they govern themselves."

"As for mercy, if it be to a tyrant, under which name they themselves have cited him so oft in the hearing of God, of angels, and the holy church-assembled, and there charged him with the spilling of more innocent blood by farre, than ever Nero did. Undoubtedly, the mercy which they pretend is the mercy of wicked men; and their mercies, we read, are cruelties, hāzarding the welfare of a whole nation, to have saved one whom they have so oft named Agag, and villify-ing the blood of many Jonathans that have saved Israel, insisting, with much niceness, of the unnecessary clause in their covenant, wherein the fear of change, and the absurd contradiction of a flattering hostilitie hath hampered them, but not scrupling to give away for compliments to an implacable revenge the heads of many Christians more."

"But who in particular is a tyrant,* cannot

* This particular charge, he says, "and the sufficient

be determined in a general discourse,* otherwise than by supposition. But this I dare own, as part of my faith, that if such an one there be, by whose commission whole massacres have been committed on his faithfull subjects, his provinces offered to pawn or alienation as the hire of those whom he had solicited to come in and destroy whole cities and countries; be he King, or Tyrant, or Emperour, the sword of justice is above him, in whose hand soever is found sufficient power to avenge the effusion, and so great a deluge of innocent blood."

He quotes the speech of *Trajan*, the worthy emperor, to one whom he made general of the Prætorian forces, "Take this drawn sword," said he, "to use for me if I reign well, if not, to use against me!"

The following is the description which he gives

proof of it, must determine that, which I leave to magistrates, at least to the uprighter sort of them, and of the people, though in number less by many in whom faction hath prevailed above the law of nature and right reason, to judge as they find cause."

* "Published now the second time with some additions, and many testimonies also added of the best and learnedest among Protestant divines, asserting the position of this book. The author, J. M.

"London, printed by Matthew Simmons, next door to the Gillion in Aldersgate Street, 1650."

of the Presbyterians after they had obtained the chief power in church and state:—

“As for the party called Presbyterian,” he says, “of whom I believe many to be good and faithful Christians, though misled by some of turbulent spirit, I wish them earnestly and calmly not to fall off from their first principles, nor to affect rigor and superiority over men not under them; not to condemn unforcible things in *religion* especially, which, if not voluntary, becomes a sin; nor to assist the clamour and malicious drifts of those whom they themselves have judged to be the worst of men, the obdurate enemies of God and his church; nor to dart against the actions of their brethren, for want of other argument than those wrested laws and Scriptures, thrown by prelates and malignants against their own sides, which, though they hurt not otherwise, are taken up by them to the condemnation of their own doings, give scandal to all men, and discover in themselves either extreme passion or apostacy. Let them not oppress their best friends and associates, who molest them not at all, infringe not the least of their liberties, unless they call it their liberty to bind other men’s consciences, but are still seeking to live at peace with them, and brotherly accord. Let them beware of an old and perfect enemy, who, though he hopes, by sowing discord, to make them his

instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open throwing of his open revenge upon them, where they have served his purposes. Let them fear, therefore, if they be wise, rather what they have done already, than what remains to do; and be warned in time, that they put no confidence in Princes, whom they have provoked; lest they be added to the examples of those who have miserably tasted of that event."

It is a pity that these Presbyterian magistrates and legislators had not felt, and listened to these cutting reproofs and significant warnings. It might have saved them, and the religious part of the nation, that bitter draught, that cup of trembling, which, in less than twelve years, they had put into their hands, and which, with all its dregs, they were compelled to drink.

This faithful *Baptist* thus proceeds:—"I have something also to the Divines, though brief to what were needful: not to be disturbers of the civil affairs, being in hands better able, and to whom it more belongs to manage them; but to study harder, and to attend the office of good pastors; not performed by mounting twice into the chair, with a formal preachment, huddled up at the odd hours of a whole lazy week, but by incessant pains and watching; which if they well considered, how little leisure would they find, to be the most pragmatical sidesmen of every popu-

lar tumult and sedition! And all this while they are to learn what the true end and reason is, of the gospel which they teach, and what a world it differs from the censorious lording over conscience. It would be good also, they lived so as might persuade the people they hated covetousness, which, worse than heresy, is idolatry; hated pluralities and all kind of simony; left rambling from benefice to benefice, like ravening wolves, seeking where they may devour the biggest. Let them be sorry, that, being called to assemble about reforming the church, they fell to praying and soliciting the Parliament, (though they had renounced the name of *Priests*,) for a new settlement of their tithes and oblations, and double-lined themselves with spiritual places of commodity beyond the possible charge of their duty. Let them assemble a Consistory, with their Elders and Deacons, to the preserving of church discipline, each in his several charge; and not a pack of clergymen, by themselves, to belly-cheer in their presumptuous *Sion*,* or to promote designs to abuse and gull the simple laity; to stir up tumults, as the Prelates did before them, for the

* The fifth Provincial Assembly of London met at Sion College, the beginning of May, 1649, the Reverend *Mr. Jackson*, of *St. Michael, Wood Street*, Moderator. A Committee was appointed to prepare materials for proof of *Divine Right* of Presbyterian Church government.—Neale, vol. ii. 13.

maintenance of their pride and avarice. On this occasion I must remark, that, by reason of the *Presbyterians* warmly uniting with others in the last *Parliament*, to promote penal laws against the *Socinians*, I find few people will believe that those in *England* differ from their brethren in *Scotland* about persecutions, nor that their own sufferings of late have made 'em more tender of the consciences of others.

“This naturally leads men to think that they have not repented of their rigour in the civil wars; and that, should the Dissenters once more get the secular sword into their hands, they would press uniformity of sentiments in religion, as far as any other Protestants and Papists ever yet have done. But what makes them most suspected of affecting dominion, is the prospect of a comprehension, now on foot, whereof some men of figure among 'em seem to be so fond; whereby the rest are easily deceived, and like to be left in the lurch, by entertaining persons, who for several years past, made the Hierarchy and Liturgy such strange bugbears; though if the church will please to become a blind mother to themselves, and show a little complaisance for their old friends, they are ready to pronounce her orders, her prayers, her ceremonies, to be very innocent and harmless things; but mistaken formerly for pillars of Antichrist, the symbols of idola-

try, the dress of popery, the rags of superstition and protestant paint, to hide the deformities of the old *Babylonish* whore. And after all, whatever ours may be, *comprehension* in all other places of the world has never been any thing else, but the combination of a few parties, to fortify themselves, and to oppress all others by their united force, or by an absolute exclusion from preferment and other advantages, to which, by nature and personal merit, they had an equal claim with the rest of their fellow-citizens. Tho' to be persecuted in their turn is the just judgment of God upon persecutors, yet vengeance must be left to heaven; and the wishes of all good men are, that the national church, being secured in her worship and emoluments, may not be allowed to force others to her communion; and that all dissenters from it, being secured in their liberty of conscience, may not be permitted to meddle with the riches or power of the national church."

The first edition thus concludes:—"These things, if they observe and wait with patience, no doubt but all things will go well, without their importunities or exclamations; and the printed letters which they send, subscribed with the ostentation of great characters, and little moment, would be more considerable than now they are. But if they be the ministers of mammon instead

of Christ, and scandalize his church with the filthy love of gain; aspiring also to sit, the closest and heaviest of all tyrants, upon the conscience; and fall notoriously into the same sins, whereof so lately and so loud they accused the prelates; as God rooted out those immediately before, so will he root out them, their imitators; and to vindicate his own glory and religion, will uncover their hypocrisy to the open world, and visit upon their own heads, that *curse the mercy*, but more like atheists, they have mocked the vengeance of God, and the zeal of his people."

These extracts will show the principles on which our noble patriot exposed the *jure divino* selfish, bigoted, sycophantic Presbyterians, who cared not, it should seem, so that the system, whatever it was, "worked well" for them, if all the other sects had perished by the *sword* of the magistrate, upon the ground of there "being no power but of God," and "those who resisted the power procured to themselves damnation." By putting the argument on the right footing, "the sovereignty of the people," he proved, that it was the duty of the subject to *obey*, when the monarch governed by law, protecting his subjects; and their duty to *resist*, when the king, regarding neither the law nor the common good, reigned for himself alone!

To bring the matter home to their breasts and to their bosoms, he gives the Sion College passive-obedience and non-resistance reverends this home thrust:—

“ But this, I doubt not to affirm, that the Presbyterians, who now so much condemn deposing, were the men themselves who deposed the king, and cannot, with all their shifting and relapsing, wash off the guiltiness from their own hands. For they themselves, by these their late doings, have made it guiltiness, and turned their own unwarrantable actions into rebellion.”

“ *He*, who but erewhile in the pulpit was a cursed tyrant, an enemy to God and saints, laden with all the innocent blood in these kingdoms, and so to be fought against; is now, though nothing penitent or altered from his first principles, a lawful magistrate, a Sovran Lord, the Lord's anointed, not to be touched, though by themselves imprisoned, as if this only were obedience to preserve the meer useless bulk of his person, and that only in prison, not in the field, and to disobey his commands, deny him his dignity and office, every where to resist his power, but when they think it only surviving in their own fact.”

I copy the concluding paragraph of the se-

cond edition, addressed chiefly to the Presbyterians:—"And indeed I find it generally the cleere and positive determination of them all, (not *prelatical*, or of this late faction *subprelatical*,) who have written on this argument, that to do justice on a lawless king, is to a private man unlawful, to an inferior magistrate lawful: or if they were divided in opinion, yet greater than these have alleged, or of more certainty in the church, there can be more produced. If any man shall goe about by producing other testimonies to disable these, or by bringing these against themselves in other cited passages of their books, he will not only fail to make good that false and impudent assertion of those mutinous ministers, that deposing or punishing of a king or tyrant, *is against the constant judgment of all Protestant Divines*, its being quite the contrary; but will prove rather that he intended not, that the judgment of Divines, if it be so various and inconstant to itself, is not considerable, or to be esteemed at all. Ere which be yielded, as I hope it never will, these ignorant assertors in their own art will have proved themselves more and more, not to be Protestant Divines, whose constant judgment in this point they have so audaciously belayed, but rather to be a pack of hungry church-wolves, who in the

steps, of *Simon Magus* their father, following the hot scent of double livings and pluralities, advowsons, donations, inductions, augmentations, though uncall'd to the flock of Christ, but by the mere suggestion of their Bellin, like those priests of *Bel*, whose pranks *Daniel* found out, have got possession, or rather seized upon the pulpit, as the strong hold and fortress of their sedition and rebellion against the civil magistrate, whose friendly and victorious hand having rescued them from the Bishops, their insulting Lords, fed them plenteously both in public and in private, raised them to be high and rich, of poor and base ; only suffered not their covetousness and fierce ambition, which as the fruit that sent out their fellow locusts, hath been ever bottomless, and boundless, to interpose in all things, and over all persons, their impetuous ignorance and importunity."

It will be seen that MILTON, who had certainly contributed largely towards procuring for the Presbyterians their importance in the state, held their *political* principles in perfect abhorrence, whatever he might have thought of the piety, usefulness, and learning, of many of the ministers who held those popish, persecuting sentiments. The fact is, they had no correct views in regard to the inalienable right of every man to derive his religious views from the Bible, according to the

prayerful exercise of his own judgment, and to act out his principles by endeavouring, by every means, to propagate them.*

Soon after the death of the king, the Commons voted the House of Peers to be useless and dangerous; and an act was accordingly passed for abolishing it. It is said that Cromwell opposed

* That the reader may judge of the spirit of *popery* "that prevailed in opposition to liberty of conscience," I give the sentiments of the English Papists and the Protestants in the reign of Elizabeth. They are founded on Rev. xvii. 6. "*And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and of the blood of the martyrs of Jesus, and when I had seen her, I marvelled with great admiration.*"

The *Rhemish* translators say, "It is plain that the woman means the whole corps of all the persecutors that have and shall shed so much blood of the just; of the prophets, apostles, and other martyrs, from the beginning of the world unto the end. The Protestants foolishly expound it of Rome, for that there they put hereticks to death, and allow of their punishment in other countries; but their blood is not called the blood of saints, no more than the blood of thieves, man-killers, and other malefactors, for the shedding of which by the order of justice no commonwealth shall answer."

To this Fulk, the Protestant commentator, replies: "They whom you call heretickes, for the most part, and that are in any great number put to death at Rome, and by the tyranny of the Romish Inquisition, are the true Christians and saints here spoken of, whose godly way you call heresy, as the persecuting Jews called it in *St. Paul*, Acts, xxiv. 14. *Therefore, though we allow the punishment of heretickes both*

this measure, but had not sufficient influence to prevent it. In order to establish a commonwealth firmly, and, as they doubtless thought, permanently, they adopted the following resolution, and published this declaration:—"That it had been found by experience, that the office of king, in this nation, was unnecessary, burthen-

in our own country and in others, yet we abhorre the cruelty of antichrist and his church, which condemn true Christians, and murdereth them under colour of heretickes, himself and his false prophets being the greatest and most blasphemious heretickes that ever were."

Now for the Presbyterians' sentiments upon this subject.

In 1645, May 26, the lord mayor, court of aldermen, and common council, presented a remonstrance to parliament, praying them to take some strict and speedy course for suppressing all private and separate congregations, that all Anabaptists, Brownists, &c. &c. who conformed not to the public discipline, and some effectual course be settled for punishing them.

In 1650, a Protestant assembly published a work entitled, "A Vindication of the Presbyterian Government and Ministry, with an exhibition to all ministers, elders, and people, within the province of London. Published by the ministers and elders met together in a provincial assembly. Signed *George Walker*, moderator, *Arthur Jackson* and *Edmund Calamy*, assessors; *Roger Drake* and *Eldad Blackwell*, writers."

This work contains the following sentence: "Whatsoever doctrine is contrary to godliness, and opens a door to libertinism and profaneness, you must reject it as soul-poison, such is the doctrine of a universal toleration in religion."

some, and dangerous to the liberty, safety, and public interest of the nation; and therefore it should be utterly abolished." A council of state was appointed, consisting of forty persons. That the reader may see by whom MILTON was chosen to the office of Latin secretary, I give the names of this illustrious council for the first year in a note below.*

"The Presbyterian ministers loudly declaimed, in their pulpits, against the manner in which the late king had been treated; saying, that his usage had been very hard; that his person was sacred and inviolable; and that any violence which had been offered to him in the field, (and much more by the hands of the executioner,) was contrary to the doctrine of the reformed churches. To doubt their *sincerity* in all this, as some have done,

* President, John Bradshaw, Esq.; Earls Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury; Lords Grey, Fairfax, and Lord Grey of Groby; Esquires, John Lisle, Esq. — Rolles, Esq. Bulstrode Whitelocke, Esq.; Lieutenant-general Cromwell, Major-general Skippon;—Sirs, Gilbert Pickering, William Massum, James Harrington, Henry Vane, jun., John Danvers, William Armine, Henry Mildmay, William Constable; Esquires, Alexander Popham, William Puresay, Isaac Pennington, Rowland Wilson, Edmund Budlow, William Herringham, Robert Wellop, Henry Martin, Anthony Stapely, John Huthinson, Valentine Walton, Thomas Scot, Dennis Bond, Luke Robinson, John Jones, and Cornelius Holland.

who say, "they were not angry at *the fact*, but the *faction*," would be illiberal; but certainly they had been, up to the time that the king became a prisoner, as much his enemies, to say the least, as any other description of persons in the nation. The fact, I believe is, that after the chief power in the commonwealth came into the hands of Cromwell, they lost their predominating influence, so that they could not set up their idol of UNIFORMITY, and, by fines and imprisonment, force the consciences of the Independents, Baptists, Socinians, and various other sects and opinions, to bow down and worship it. It is certain, that had the principles even of such men as Calamy and Baxter prevailed, all those who had ventured to act contrary to their "Book of Discipline," would not only have been deprived of *liberty*, but of life!

After having given the Presbyterians their quietus in the second edition of the "Tenure of Kings," MILTON, thinking he had leisure for the undertaking, applied himself to writing the history of the English nation, intending to trace it, so far as possible, to the remotest period of antiquity, and to continue it to his own times. He had almost finished four books of this work, when, though he had neither courted nor expected any such preferment, he was taken, as has been mentioned, into the service of the new commonwealth,

with, it is said, an annual salary of £200. Up to this period, he had lent gratuitously the assistance of his powerful pen, content with the esteem of good men, and the internal satisfaction of having performed his duty, while some, who had not so well deserved public rewards, had received some riches, and others some honours and distinctions in the government. MILTON owed his distinction to his recent publication: this work, it is said, revived the fame of his other books. It looks from this, that his masterly productions in opposition to the Prelates, and in support of the Presbyterian "*Smectymnuus*," and his "Plea for unlicensed Printing," had not excited much of the public attention, notwithstanding the unequalled strength of his arguments, and the hitherto unexampled beauty of his style. It was not, however, it is presumed, so much the excellency of his reasoning, and the gigantic powers which he had discovered in this work, as what *Toland* calls "his affection to the good old cause," that he was made secretary to the council of state for foreign affairs: he adds, "for the Republic scorned to acknowledge that sort of tribute to any prince in the world, which is *now* [1699] paid to the French king, of managing their affairs only in his language; and took up the noble resolution, to which they firmly adhered, that they would neither write to others, nor receive their

answers, except in the *Latin* tongue, as being common to them all, and the properest in itself to contain great things, as the subject of future pens." But this proceeding (confining all the government correspondence to the Latin language) could not be acceptable to those [governors] whose transactions were ashamed or afraid to see the light, and whose names will not be transmitted to posterity, unless for dexterously cheating their own people, and laying the springs of their tyranny or neglect in the dark, though their effects are sufficiently felt by their deluded subjects, and the injustice visibly exposed to all discerning eyes. "Who could," says Toland, "be found more fitted for such a post than MILTON, who quickly gained no less reputation to himself, than credit to the state that employed so able a person? Of this the letters he wrote under that and the succeeding administrations, (for he served OLIVER, RICHARD, and the RUMP,*) are abundant evidence, being, for different reasons, admired by critics and statesmen, as they [his letters] are certain and authentic materials

* The reader need scarcely be informed that the persons thus uncourteously spoken of, are the Lord Protector Oliver Cromwell : his modest successor and son, Richard ; and the Parliament called after the latter had resigned his Protectorship the Rump, composed of those persons who had belonged to the "Long Parliament."

for such as may hereafter write the history of those times."

The government soon found a use for his *Latin* pen in another way; for about this time, 1649, there was published a work entitled "*Eikon Basilike*, or the Portraiture of his sacred Majesty in his solitudes and sufferings," and MILTON soon after published, by the authority of Parliament, his "*Eiclonocastes*, or the image-breaker;"—"the purport of the book attributed to the late king, (but written by a clergyman named Dr. Gordon,) being in the opinion of MILTON, to catch the worthless approbation of an inconstant, irrational, and *image* dotting rabble." In this work, (which it was afterwards discovered was an *imposture*,) the king vindicates himself in distinct chapters *against the charges made against him* by the nation, of those acts of tyranny, which were the occasions of the civil war, or which had been committed against the people during its continuance. The effect of this work was so powerful upon the public mind, that MILTON was commanded to prepare an answer which should counteract its baneful influence to the disadvantage of the Government. He cheerfully undertook this task so agreeable to his principles, and so congenial to his feelings: to combat a king as he appears to have thought, was of all other employments, that which called

forth the powerful energies of his mighty mind; and brought into full exercise the high-tried feelings of his intrepid heart.

He commences by saying, "Kings indeed have gained glorious titles from their flatterers or favourers, for writing against private men, as our Henry the Eighth was styled *Defender of the Faith* for having engaged *Luther*; yet no man can expect much honour by writing against a king, as not usually meeting with that force of argument in such courtly antagonists. Kings, though strong in legions are most commonly but weak at arguments, as they who have ever been accustomed from their cradle to use their *will* only as their right hand, their *reason* always as their left: whence unexpectedly constrained to this kind of combat, they prove but weak and puny adversaries. Nevertheless, for their sakes, who through custom, simplicity, or want of better teaching, have not more sacredly considered kings than in the gaudy name of majesty, and admire them and their doings as if they breathed not the same breath with other mortal men, I shall make no scruple to take up this gauntlet, though a kings, in behalf of liberty and the commonwealth."

"Having thus accepted the challenge," says Toland, "he fairly measures weapons, and answers all the allegations of that book beyond the possi-

bility of a reply ;” but every chapter of the *Eikon Basilike* being concluded with a devotional exercise, modelled into the form of a private psalter, he once for all gives his opinion of those political prayers in the following caustic remarks:—“They who so much admire the Archbishop’s Breviary, and many other [formularies] as good manuals and handmaids of devotion, the lip-work of every prelatical Liturgist, clapt this together, and quilted it out of scripture phrase with as much ease and as little aid of christian diligence or judgment, as belongs to the compiling of any ordinary and saleable piece of *English* divinity that the shops value. But he, who from such a kind of psalmistry, or any other verbal devotion, without the pledge and earnest of suitable deeds, can be persuaded of a zeal and true righteousness in the person has much yet to learn ; and knows not that the deepest policy of a tyrant has been ever to counterfeit religion : and *Aristotle* in his politics has mentioned that special craft among twelve other tyrannical sophisms. Neither want we examples. *Andronicus Commenus* the *Bezzantin* Emperor, though a most cruel tyrant, is reported by *Nicholas* to have been a constant reader of St. Paul’s Epistles : and by continual study had so incorporated the phrase and style of that Apostle into all his

familiar letters, that the imitations seemed to vie with the original."

Having mentioned our king Richard the Third, he discovers a piece of royal plagiarism, or, to be more charitable, of his chaplain's priestcraft; for one of the prayers *composed* by the late "*martyr!*" and styled "A Prayer in the time of captivity," said to have been delivered by the king to Dr. Juxon, and twice printed among his works in folio, is plainly stolen and taken from the mouth of PAMELA, an imaginary lady, to a heathen deity, in SIR PHILIP SIDNEY'S *Arcadia*. This and other circumstances of a similar kind, its composition, style, and management, could not impose upon Milton, who considered it as being rather the production of some idle clergyman, than the composition of a distressed Prince, either in perpetual hurry, at the head of a retreating army, or being removed from prison to prison during his captivity, till his death upon the scaffold. The following quotation is given by MILTON to show it was compiled by some theologian, who did not hesitate in commenting without reverence upon the judgments of God. When the death of the HOTHAMS was mentioned, who had opposed the king at Hull, it is said:—"That his [the father's] head was divided from the body, because his heart was divided from the king; and that two heads were cut off in one family, for affront-

ing the head of the commonwealth; the eldest son being infected with the sin of the father against the father of his country."

Many at the time suspected, from the internal evidence of the book itself, without any further light on the subject, that it was an imposture, and published for the purpose of proving that the late king of the Royalist party had been a wiser man and better Christian than Cromwell, the head of the Republicans, notwithstanding the reputation which he had obtained in the nation for his intellect and piety.*

* In the year 1686, this imposture was thus discovered. Mr. Millington had to sell the library of the late LORD ANGLESEY. Putting up an *Eikon Basilike*, notwithstanding it was in the reign of the supposed royal author's brother, there were but few bidders, and those very low in their biddings. Having thus leisure, while his hammer was suspended, to turn over the leaves, he read, with evident surprise, the following *memorandum* in LORD ANGLESEY's hand-writing:—"KING CHARLES the second and the Duke of York, did both (in the last sessions of Parliament, 1675, when I showed them, in the Lords' House, the written copy of this book, wherein are some corrections and alterations, written with the late king CHARLES the First's own hand,) assure me that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Dr. GAUDEN, Bishop of Exeter; which I here insert for the undeceiving of others in this point, by attesting so much under my own hand.—ANGLESEY."

This curious circumstance coming to light at the end of forty years, led to much conversation; and several persons, who knew that Dr. Walker, an Essex clergyman, had de-

MILTON's pen was again employed in the year 1649, in reply to the "*Representations of the Presbytery of Belfast in Ireland.*" These related to the king's death as being the breaking of the covenant : and besides, these "Priestlings" as MILTON designates the members of this Presbytery, "were mortal enemies to the declaration

scended from the Bishop of Exeter, Dr. GAUDEN, they made enquiries of him, as to whether he could throw any light upon the subject. This brought the whole matter before the public : it is too long, and too uninteresting to copy the whole account, which may be easily obtained ; but the following short extract proves the jesuitry of even a *Protestant* bishop. Dr. Walker says that Dr. GAUDEN acquainted him with the design, showed him the heads of divers chapters of the book, and of some quite finished ; and on his [Dr. Walker's] expressing his dissatisfaction that the world should be so imposed upon, the BISHOP bid him look at the title,—"*The King's Portraiture*;" "for," said the Bishop, "no man is supposed to draw his own picture!" Toland exclaims, "A very nice evasion!" I should call it a most infamous deception, which ought not to have been rewarded even with a bishoprick! Dr. Walker says that the Duke of York, afterwards the conscientious, popish James the Second, knew that Dr. Gauden was the real author of the *Eikon Basilike*, and owned it had been of great service! I can only find room, as my patience is exhausted in reading of such detestable hypocrisy, for,—"4. A letter under Chancellor Hyde's [after Lord CLARENDON, author of the Grand Rebellion!] own writing, dated the 13th of March, 1661, wherein he expresses his uneasiness under the Bishop's importunity, and excuses his inability yet to serve him; but

granted by the Government to all sects of professing Christians ! calling their own Presbyterian government "the hedge and bulwark of Religion." In his observations, MILTON is very angry that the Duke of ORMOND should have persuaded the Governor of Dublin to revolt from

towards the conclusion it contains these remarkable words : *'The particular you mention has indeed been mentioned to me, as a secret ; I am sorry I ever knew it ; and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but MR. MILTON !'*" Need we wonder that the men of that generation were the persecutors of the honest and conscientious nonconformists ? *A secret !* So, my LORD CLARENDON, you could keep *such* a secret as that, could you ? I cannot believe your History after this, even had I done so before reading your note to Dr. GAUDEN. Toland has this ill-natured, but not probably unjust remark, "Had not GAUDEN been disappointed of Winchester, he had never pleaded his merit in this affair, nor would his widow have written her narrative." All this was printed in a paper, entitled, "*Truth brought to light.*"

There can be but little doubt, had James succeeded in establishing popery in England, that he would have rewarded Dr. GAUDEN's superlative merits by some distinguished rank in the Popish hierarchy ; if he had not prevailed with his infallible Holiness, the Pope, to have constituted the Bishop of Exeter the *Master General of the Jesuits !* Was it at all wonderful that CHARLES the Second, who knew all this and connived at it, should have been a laughing, lascivious infidel, or that he should have died a good *Papist* ? Is it at all wonderful that divine retribution should have driven CLARENDON and JAMES the Second out of the kingdom which they had thus suffered to "*believe a lie* ?"

the Parliament, speaking contemptuously of a general Cromwell. "Who," says MILTON "had done in a few years more eminent and remarkable deeds, whereon to found nobility in his house, though it were wanting, and perpetual honour to posterity, than ORMOND and all his ancestors put together could shew from any *Record* of their Irish exploits, the evident scene of their glory."

But the chief design of these remarks, so far as they applied to ORMOND, was to expose the "Articles of Peace," which ORMOND had concluded with the Popish Irish Rebels of 1641 in the king's name, and by his authority; pardoning them for the measure and rebellion of *English* Protestants; and acknowledging them to be "good and loyal subjects;" discharging them from the oath of supremacy, framed principally on account of Papists: and by granting to those inhuman butchers such rights and immunities as were not enjoyed by the English conquerors: empowering too, the Irish Parliament to repel or suspend as they thought fit, what is called POYNING's act, the only security of their dependance upon England.

"Having," says Todd, "thus distinguished himself as the advocate of republicanism, the Members of the English Council naturally appointed him to vindicate their cause against the

attack of no mean opponent. King Charles the Second being now protected in Holland, had employed *Salmasius*, a learned Frenchman, professor of polite learning at Leyden, to write a defence of his late father, and of monarchy. "*Salmasius*," says Dr. Johnson, "was a man of skill in languages, knowledge of antiquity, and sagacity of criticism, almost exceeding all hope of human attainment; and having by excessive praises been confirmed in great confidence of himself, though he probably had not much considered the principles of society and the rights of government, undertook the employment without the distrust of his own qualifications: and as his expedition in writing was wonderful, in 1649 published '*Defencio Regia*.' It is certainly wonderful," adds Dr. J. "that *Salmasius*, the pensioner to a republic, should write a vindication of monarchy."*

MILTON's reply, which was also in Latin, with the title of *Defencio Populi*, was not published till the beginning of the year 1651. For this performance he was complimented at home by the visits or invitations of all the foreign ministers at London, as well as by the more substantial approbation of his employers, who voted him, it is said, from the public purse, one thousand

* MILTON in his reply, solves this enigma—60 jacobusses.

pounds:* and by encomiastic letters from the most celebrated scholars abroad; and Christina, queen of Sweden, is said to have treated Salmasius the *defender of monarchy* with coldness, after she had read the *defence of the people*.

It may be necessary briefly to state the occasion of this work having been written: Charles Stuart, afterwards king Charles the Second, of licentious memory, was living in a state of exile in Holland, and wishing some one to paint the execution of his father Charles the First in the blackest colours, to render the authors of that act most odious, and thereby probably to facilitate his

* The following statement of Milton, in his Second Defence of the People of England, makes this matter doubtful:

“Nor do I complain of the very small part that hath come to me of reward and advantage for my service to the Commonwealth, and of the very great one of ignominy and reproach; contented that I have been a zealous assertor of what was right for itself alone and *gratis*; let others look to that, and be it known to you, that those conveniencies, and that wealth you reproach me with, I have never touched; and that an account of which you chiefly accuse me of, I am not made a penny the richer.

“I have thus, from my private study, given my time and labour, sometimes to the Church, sometimes to the Commonwealth, though neither this nor that hath given me any thing in return but security. What I have done hath of itself given me a good conscience within, a good esteem amongst the good, and withall, this just and honest way of speaking.”

coming to the throne of England as his hereditary freehold: or if that end was not accomplished by such a publication, then that it might rouse the foreign Potentates to attempt by the power of their armies to promote his Restoration. Having understood that SALMASIUS, a professor in the university of *Leyden*, a pensioner upon those free states, and employed in the service of the Dutch nation, was the fittest man for that purpose, he engaged him to undertake the work, on condition that when he had accomplished it, he should receive from the royal exile one hundred jacobusses!! In the year 1649 this bulky, incongruous volume was printed in Holland, and on account of its being opposed to the common cause of liberty between the Dutch and English, was ordered by the States to be suppressed.

On its publication in England by the title of *Defencio Regia*, or a defence of CHARLES *the First* to CHARLES *the Second*, it was taken under consideration by the council of the nation, and MILTON being present, was unanimously called upon by every member of that noble band of patriots to write an answer to it. Within a very short time he produced his *Defensio pro Populo Anglicano*, or the Defence of the People of England: in which, to say nothing of his exposures of the ignorance and fury, and bar-

barous stile of his opponent, and of the pointed sarcasms which exposed SALMASIUS to the scorn and derision of the world, he completely defended the proceedings of the People of England, from the period of the commencement of the civil war, with such force of arguments and authoritative examples, that in the estimation of persons of all judgments, and all the countries of Europe, he obtained a most decisive triumph over his pedantic, syllogizing, etymological opponent; his readers being lost in astonishment at the display of his extensive reading, and unrivalled judgment.

To afford some illustrations of the character of this work, I extract the concluding from the English Version by Mr. WASHINGTON of the Temple. "And now I think," (says the illustrious republican,) "that by God's assistance I have finished the work I undertook, namely, to defend the noble actions of my countrymen both at home and abroad, against the raging and envious madness of this distracted sophister; and to assert the common rights of the people against the unjust domination of kings, not out of any hatred to *Kings* but *Tyrants*: nor have I purposely left unanswered any one argument alleged by my adversary, nor any example or authority quoted by him, that seemed to have any force in it, or the least colour of a proof; perhaps I have

been guilty rather of the other extreme, of replying to some of his fooleries and trifles as if they were solid arguments, and thereby may seem to have attributed more to them than they deserved. One thing yet remains to be done, which, perhaps, is the greatest concern of all, and that is, that you my countrymen confute this adversary of yours by yourselves; which I do not see any other means of your effecting, than by a constant endeavour to out-do all men's bad words by your own good deeds. When you laboured under more sorts of opposition than one, you betook yourselves to God for refuge, and he was graciously pleased to hear your most earnest prayers and desires. He gloriously delivered you, the first of nations, from the two greatest mischiefs of this life, and the most pernicious to virtue, *tyranny* and *superstition*; he induced you, with that greatness of soul, to be the first of mankind, who after having conquered and captivated their own king, have not scrupled to condemn him judicially, and according to that just sentence to put him to death. After performing such an illustrious action as this, you ought to do nothing that is mean and little, not even to think, much less to do any thing but what is great and sublime. To attain which praise there is only this way, that as you have subdued your enemies in the field, so to make it appear that unarmed, and

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in full peace, you of all mankind are ablest to conquer ambition, avarice, the love of riches, and can best avoid those corruptions of prosperity which are apt to get the better of other nations; to shew as great justice, temperance, and moderation in preserving your liberty, as you have done courage in freeing yourselves from slavery. These are the only arguments and authorities by which you will be able to evince that you are not such persons as this fellow represents you, traitors, robbers, murderers, parricides, madmen; that you did not put your king to death out of any ambitious design, or a desire of invading the rights of others, nor out of any seditious principles and sinister ends, not agitated by fury or madness; but that it was wholly out of love to your liberty, religion, justice, virtue, and inflamed with an affection for your country, that you punished a tyrant. But if it should happen otherwise, (which I pray God mercifully to forbid,) if as you have been valiant in war, you should grow debauched in peace, you that have had such visible demonstrations of the goodness of God to yourselves, and his wrath against your enemies, and that you should not have by so eminent and memorable an example before your eyes, to fear God and work righteousness, for my part, I shall easily grant and confess (for I cannot deny it) all the ills that liars and slander-

ers now think or speak of you to be true. *And you will find in a little time that God's displeasure against you, will be greater than it has bin against your adversaries, greater than his benign favour and paternal care, which you have experienced above every nation under heaven."*

This work has been blamed for the *roughness* of its style: from the specimen given in the above quotation, it is more than probable numbers have disliked it for the *puritanism* of its sentiments. Oh! that all public writers would imitate the bluntness of its honesty, the simplicity of its spirituality, and the evident aim of having nothing in view but the good of man and the glory of God.

MILTON has been censured also for the *abuse* with which he loaded his antagonist, (and it must be acknowledged there is of that article *quantum sufficit*,) but let it be recollected how basely this pitiful, hired foreigner, had abused the whole English nation, as if they were "all mere barbarians and enthusiasts fiercer than their own mastiffs, and yet more silly than Athenian owls;" and does it not fully justify him in having answered such a fool according to his folly, and having laid *forty* stripes at least, not saving *one*, upon this contemptible fool's back, who knew nothing of the manner in which the people of England

had acted towards an hypocritical, popery-led monarch, in defence of themselves and their liberties, but what had been told him by the miserable and drunken and beaten cavaliers, who were the noble attendants of the most noble Charles, in his outlawed, splendid style of dissipated exile in Holland !

I will give one specimen of MILTON's polished and caustic sarcasm. *Salmasius*, in speaking of the "County Court and hundred," had spelt the last word "hundreda."

The reply is thus Englished :—

"Who taught *Salmasius*, that *French* hireling py,
To aim at *English* and *Hundreda* cry ?
The starving rascal, flusht with just a hundred
English jacobussus, *Hundreda* blunder'd ;
An outlawed king's last stock. A hundred more
Would make him pimp for the Anti-christian whore ;
And in *Rome's* praise employ his poisoned breath,
Who threatened once to stink the pope to death."*

"This great display of intellectual power," says a modern writer, "was received with the plaudits of the world ; and as the author's name was not in any wide celebrity out of his own country, the general surprise was nearly equal to the general admiration. Congra-

* *Salmasius* had published a work, entitled, "*Apparatus contra Primatum Papæ.*"

tulations and acknowledgements of respect poured in upon him from every quarter; and the scholars of Europe, actuated by a similar spirit with the spectators of the old Olympic games, threw garlands on the conqueror of Salmasius. On the publication of the 'Defence of the People of England,' all the ambassadors in London, of whom, perhaps, the greater number were from crowned heads, discovered their sense of its merit by complimenting or visiting its author; and he was gratified by letters replete with praise and with professions of esteem from foreigners, eminent for their talents and erudition."*

An answer to this work of MILTON appeared, written, it was said, by *Bishop* BRAMHILL, entitled, *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cælum*; or, "the cry of the king's blood for vengeance to heaven against the parricides." In this work it is said, "What the most noble SALMASIUS has discretely written in defence of the right and honour of CHARLES the *British* monarch, murdered by wicked men, has borne but one impression, and saw the light with great difficulty; with so much hatred does the world persecute truth in these latter times: but of what the most execrable MILTON has spitefully elaborated to ruin the reputation of the deceased king, and to

* Simmons's Life of MILTON, p. 374.

destroy the hereditary succession of the crown, there are so many editions, that I am uncertain to which of these I should refer my reader ; so passionately fond are men grown now of lies and calumnies !” The *true* author of this work, it was afterwards understood, was PETER DU MOULIN the younger, a Prebendary of Canterbury. The publisher was ALEXANDER MORUS, a French minister, who prefixed a dedication from himself as the printer to CHARLES the Second : he was on that account supposed to have been the writer, and MILTON was commanded by the Council to write “a second defence for the people of England,” which he soon after published with the title “*Defencio 2. pro pop. Anglican.*”*

From this work I extract the parts which contain a reply to the reproaches which his mean antagonist had heaped on him for his blindness, and the pretended deformity of his person. “Let us,” he says, “now come to the charges which he brings against me. Is there any thing in my life or my morals on which his censure may be fastened ? Certainly nothing. What then is his conduct ? That of

* It appears that this Frenchman was ashamed to show himself as the writer of the Preface, being afraid of the polemical weapons of his opponent. There is a letter in Thuroloe’s State papers, written from the Hague, and dated 3rd of July, 1654, which throws light upon these subjects. The writer says, “They have had here two or three copies of MILTON,

which none but a savage and a barbarian could be guilty—he reproaches me with my form and with my blindness. In his page, I am

‘ A monster, horrid, hideous, huge, and blind.’

“ I never, indeed, imagined there would be instituted any comparison between me and a cyclops. But my accuser immediately corrects himself: ‘ So far, however, is he from huge, that a more meagre, bloodless, diminutive animal, can no where be seen.’ Although it be idle for a man to speak of his own form, yet since, even in this particular instance, I have cause of thankfulness to God, and the power of confuting the falsehoods of my adversary, I will not be silent upon the subject, lest any person should deem me as the credulous populace of Spain, who are induced by their priests to believe those whom they call heretics, to be a kind of rhinoceros, or a monster with a dog’s head. By any man

against the famous professor Morus, who doth all he can to suppress the book. He saith now that he is not the author of the preface to *Clamor*; but we know very well the contrary. One Ulack, a printer, is re-printing MILTON’s book, with an apology for himself; but Ulack holds it for an honour to be reckoned on the side of Salmasius and Morus; and besides, the profit he will make of it is the chiefest reason. Morus doth all he can to persuade him from printing it.”

indeed, who has ever seen me, I have never, to the best of my knowledge, been considered as deformed—whether as handsome or not, forms a less object of my concern. My stature, I confess, not to be lofty; but it approaches more to the middle height than to the low. If it were however, even low, I should in this respect only be confounded with many who have eminently distinguished themselves in peace and in war; and I know not why that human body should be called little, which is sufficiently large for all the purposes of human usefulness and perfection. When my age and the habits of my life would permit, I accustomed myself to the daily exercise of the sword, and was not either so puny in my body, or so deficient in courage, as not to think myself, with that weapon which I generally wore, to be secure in the assault of any man, hand to hand, how superior soever he might be to me in muscular strength. The spirit and the power, which I then possessed, continue unimpaired to the present day; my eyes only are not the same, and they are as unblemished in appearance, as lucid and free from spot, as those which are endued with the sharpest vision: in this instance alone, and much against my own inclination, am I a deceiver? My face, than which, as he says, nothing is more bloodless, still retains, at the age of forty, a colour the very re-

verse of pale, and such as induces almost every one who sees me, to consider me as ten years younger than I am; neither is my skin wrinkled, nor my body in any way shrunk. If I should misrepresent any of these circumstances, my falsehood must instantly be detected by thousands of my own countrymen, and by many foreigners who are acquainted with my person, and to whose ridicule and contempt I should be exposed: it might then be fairly concluded, that he who, in an affair of no moment, could unnecessarily be guilty of a gross and wanton violation of truth, could not be deserving of credit in any thing which he asserted. Thus much have I been compelled to speak of my own person:—of yours, though I have been informed that it is the most contemptible and the most strongly expressive of the dishonesty and malice which actuate it, I am as little disposed to speak as others would be to hear.

“I wish that it were in my power, with the other attack, to refute the charge, which my unfeeling adversary brings against me, of blindness; but, alas! it is not in my power, and I must consequently submit to it. It is not, however, miserable to be blind: he only is miserable who cannot acquiesce in his blindness with fortitude. And why should I repent at a calamity, which every man’s mind ought to be so prepared

and disciplined, as to be able, on the contingency of its happening, to undergo with patience : a calamity to which every man by the condition of his nature is liable ; and which I know to have been the lot of some of the greatest and the best of my species. Among those on whom it has fallen, I might reckon some of the remotest bards of remote antiquity, whose want of sight the Gods are said to have compensated with extraordinary and far more valuable endowments, and whose virtues were so venerated that men would rather arraign the Gods themselves of injustice, than draw from the blindness of these admirable mortals an argument of their guilt. What is handed down to us respecting the augur Tiresias is very commonly known. Of Phineus, Apolonius in his *Argonautics* thus sings—

‘ Careless of Jove, in conscious virtue bold,
His daring lips Heav’ns sacred mind unfold.
The God hence gave him years without decay,
But robb’d his eye-balls of the pleasing day.’

“ As for what I wrote at any time, (since the Royalists think I now suffer on that account, and triumph over me,) I call God to witness that I did not write any thing but what I then thought, and am still persuaded to be, right and true and acceptable to God ; nor led by any sort of ambition, profit, or vain glory ; but have done all

from a sense of duty and honour, or out of piety to my country, and for the liberty of Church and State. On the contrary, when the task of answering the king's defence was enjoined me by public authority, being both in an ill state of health, and the sight of one eye almost gone already, the Physicians openly predicting the loss of both if I undertook this labour, yet nothing terrified by their premonition, I did not long balance whether my duty should be preferred to my eyes."

The following beautiful Sonnet will show the happy state of his mind under this painful affliction, the principles of the gospel evidently "filled him with joy and peace in believing:" so that he "abounded in hope by the power of the Holy Ghost."

ON HIS BLINDNESS.

"When I consider how my life is spent
Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent which is death to hide,
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he, returning chide,
'Doth God exact *day* labour, *light* denied?'
I fondly ask: but patience to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, 'God doth not need
Either man's works, or his own gift; who best
Bears his mild yoke they serve him best: his state
Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait.'"

In a letter expressive of his entire resignation to the will of God, under this painful affliction, addressed to his friend, Leonard Philarus of Athens, dated Westminster, September 28th, 1654, he gives this further account of his blindness.

“That I might not seem,” he says, “to neglect any means, perhaps of divine suggestion, for my relief, I will hasten to comply with your request:—

“It is now about ten years, I think, since I first perceived my sight beginning to grow weak and dim, and at the same time my spleen and other visura heavy and flatulent. When I sate down to read as usual in the morning, my eyes gave me considerable pain, and refused their office till fortified by moderate exercise of body. If I looked at a candle, it appeared surrounded by an iris. In a little time, a darkness covering the left side of the left eye, which was partially clouded some years before the other, interrupted the view of all things in that direction. Objects also in front seemed to dwindle in size whenever I closed my right eye. This eye too for three years gradually failing, a few months previous, while I was perfectly stationary, every thing seemed to swim backward and forward: and now thick vapours appear to settle upon my forehead and temples, which weigh down my eyes with an oppressive

sense of drowsiness, especially in the interval between the dinner and evening ; so as frequently to remind me of Phineus, the Salmydisim, in the *Argonautics*.

“In darkness swam his brain, and where he stood,
The stedfast earth seemed rolling like a flood.
Nerveless his tongue, and, every power oppressed,
He sunk, and languished into torpid rest.”

“I ought not to omit mentioning that, before I wholly lost my sight, as soon as I lay down in bed, and turned upon either side, brilliant flashes of light used to issue from my closed eyes ; and afterwards upon the gradual failure of any power of vision, colours proportionably dim and faint, seemed to rush out with a degree of vehemence and a kind of inward noise. These have now faded into uniform blackness, such as ensues on the extinction of a candle ; or blackness varied only and intermingled with a dunnish grey. The constant darkness, however, in which I live day and night, inclines more to a whitish than a blackish tinge ; and the eye in turning itself round admits, as through a narrow chink, a very small portion of light. But this, though it may offer a similar glance of hope to the physician, does not prevent me from making up my mind to my case, as evidently beyond the reach of cure : and I often reflect, that as many days

of darkness, according to the wise man, (Eccle. xi. 8.) are allotted to us all, mine, which by the singular favour of the Deity, are divided between leisure and study, and are recruited by the conversation and intercourse of my friends, are more agreeable than those deadly shades of which Solomon is speaking. But if, as it is written, "Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word which proceedeth out of the mouth of God," (Matt. iv. 4.) why should not each of us likewise acquiesce in the reflection, that he derives not the benefit of his sight from his eyes alone, but from the guidance and providence of the same Supreme Being? Whilst he looks out and provides for me as he does, and leads me about as it were with his hand through the paths of life, I willingly surrender my own faculty of vision in conformity to his good pleasure: and with a heart as strong and as stedfast as if I were a Lynceus, I bid you, my Philarus, farewell!"

It may perhaps be thought by some, that MILTON need not have noticed such contemptible charges. But what despicable pigmies must those have been, who compelled him to talk as vain and worthless fools do, who have nothing in view but selfish ends, by the vanity of their self-commendations: so PAUL, who was cast in a similar mould, (and to whom I consider

MILTON stands next of *uninspired* men,) said to the ungrateful Corinthians :—" *I say again, let no man think me a fool ; if otherwise, yet as a fool receive me, that I may boast myself a little. That which I speak, I speak it not after the Lord, but as it were foolishly in this confidence of boasting.*"—2 Cor. xi. 16, 17.

The following beautiful Sonnet will put a suitable conclusion to this painful subject of a good man having probably " been made the song of the drunkard," on account of the affliction with which it had pleased God to visit him:—

TO CYRIAC SKINNER.

"CYRIAC, this three years' day these eyes, though clear,
 To outward view, of blemish or of spot,
 Bereft of light, their seeing have forgot ;
 Nor to their idle orbs doth sight appear
 Of sun, or moon, or star, throughout the year,
 Or man, or woman. Yet I argue not
 Against Heaven's hand or will, nor bate a jot
 Of heart or hope ; but still bear up and steer
 Right onward. What supports me, dost thou ask ?
 The conscience, Friend, to have lost them overplied
 In liberty's defence, my noble task,
 Of which all Europe rings from side to side.
 This thought might lead me through the world's vain mask
 Content though blind, had I no better guide."

ALEXANDER MORUS took the field again, and published what he called "*Fides Publica*," and

MILTON replied, in a work entitled, "*Defencio pro*," or a defence of himself, and so completely baffled his opponent, that he prudently quitted the field, and MILTON was proclaimed, by general consent, the People's Champion and Conqueror: an honour this, greater than what many monarchs have obtained even from their sycophants and parasites—more valuable, more permanent!

It appears that MILTON was now advanced from his office to the Council, to be Latin Secretary to that most extraordinary man, OLIVER CROMWELL: for whose statue I venture to bespeak a niche among the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey: not doubting, from recent events, but the time will come, when the governors of the nation will be so sensible of the obligations of Britain to that illustrious ruler and his noble compatriots, as, maugre the mean power of ignorance and prejudice, will decree him a monumental inscription in the sepulchres of our kings.

CHAPTER V.

1653—1660.

OLIVER CROMWELL was now declared the chief magistrate, under the title, not of king, which he was strongly solicited to accept, but of Lord Protector. He was installed into this high office, with great solemnity and magnificence, on the 16th day of December, 1654; and MILTON, all republican as he was, fell in with that arrangement, and acknowledged that title, because "he confidently hoped," says Toland, "that Cromwell would employ his power and trust to extinguish the numerous factions in the State, and to settle such a perfect form of a *free* government, wherein no single person should enjoy any power above or beside the laws!" There can be no doubt but MILTON's chief reason was his knowledge of the Protector's principles in regard to liberty of conscience in religion; that he would establish equal rights in religion, as well as in politics; and as he had delivered the nation from civil

tyranny, so he would protect all persons, professing regard for, and being subject to the laws, whatever their religious sentiments might be, from the oppression of the dominant religious sect : and compel the Presbyterians, now they were in power, to grant that protection to other sects, which they themselves had pleaded for when writhing as Puritans under the lash of the Prelates.

The following expressive Sonnet will give the just character of the LORD PROTECTOR: at least, what were the sentiments of the honest MILTON respecting him, after he had gained the Sovereign power :—

“ CROMWELL, our chief of men, who through a croud
 Not of war only, but distractions rude,
 Guided by faith and matchless fortitude,
 To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
 And fought God's battles, and his work pursued,
 While *Darwent* streams, with blood of Scots imbrued,
 And *Dunbar* field resounds thy praises loud,
 And *Worcester's* laureate wreath. Yet much remains
 To conquer still ; Peace has her victories
 No less than those of war. New foes arise,
 Threatening to bind our souls in secular chains:
 Help us to save free conscience from the paw
 Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw !” *

* The Protector was an enemy to persecution. Among the capital articles on which his government was founded, was this: “ *That such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though they differ in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained.*”

Some extracts have been made from MILTON's "Second Defence of the People of England," in the last chapter ; and intimations given of the high estimation in which that most extraordinary man, Oliver Cromwell, was held by him. The following is taken from the same noble work ; which, though an highly wrought eulogy on the Protector, and that too, let it be remembered, after all those actions had been committed, such as dissolving the parliament, usurping the supreme power, &c. which has exposed his name to so much obloquy.

He thus expresses his approbation of the general's conduct, in putting an end to the power of the parliament. " When you saw them studious only of delay, and perceived each one more attentive to private advantage than public welfare ; when you found the nation lamenting over their deluded hopes, which were successively baffled and disappointed by the power of a few, you at length did that, which they had been frequently warned and instructed to do, and put an end to their sittings."

Speaking of Cromwell's religious character he says : " Such was the temper and discipline of his mind, moulded not merely to military sub-

from, but shall be protected in, the profession and exercise of their religion ; and that all laws, statutes, and ordinances, against such liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."

ordination, but to the precepts of Christianity, sanctity, and sobriety, that all the good and valiant were irresistibly drawn to his camp, not only as to the best school of martial science, but also of piety and religion; and those who joined it were necessarily rendered such by his example."

Milton composed this work immediately after Cromwell's elevation to the office of Protector. It was published in May, 1654, and is entirely free from flattery or sycophancy. He enumerates the great events which had happened since the command of the army had been confided to Cromwell, as captain-general—as the recovery of Ireland, the subjugation of Scotland; the *crowning* victory at Worcester; the dismissal of the Long Parliament; the meeting and subsequent abdication of "The Little, or Barebone's Parliament;" and, to crown the whole, the magnanimous rejection of the title of king. With this topic the following extract commences; and let any one from it convict the writer of any tergiversation, or accommodation of his principles.

"Proceed then, Cromwell, and exhibit, under every circumstance, the same loftiness of mind; for it well becomes you, and is consistent with your greatness. The deliverer, as you are, of your country—the author, the guardian, and preserver of her liberty—you can assume no additional character more important or more august;

since not only the actions of our kings, but the fabled exploits of our heroes are overcome by your achievements. Reflect then frequently, (how dear alike the trust, and the parent from whom you received it,) that to your hands your country has commended and confided her freedom; that, what she lately expected from her choicest representations, she now hopes exclusively from you. Oh, reverence this high confidence, this hope of your country, relying exclusively upon yourself: reverence the countenances and the wounds of those brave men, who have so nobly struggled for liberty under your auspices, as well as the manes of those who have fallen in the conflict. Reverence also the opinion and the discourse of foreign communities; their lofty anticipations with respect to our freedom, so valiantly obtained—to our republic, so gloriously established, of which the speedy extinction would involve us in the deepest and most unexampled infamy. Reverence, finally, yourself: and suffer not that liberty, for the attainment of which you have encountered so many perils, and endured so many hardships, to sustain any violation from your own hands, or any from those of others. Without our freedom, in fact, you cannot yourself be free: for it is justly ordained by nature, that he who invades the liberty of others shall, in the very outset, lose his

ordination, but to the precepts of Christianity, sanctity, and sobriety, that all the good and valiant were irresistibly drawn to his camp, not only as to the best school of martial science, but also of piety and religion; and those who joined it were necessarily rendered such by his example."

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own, and be the first to feel that servitude which he has induced. But if the very patron, the tutelary deity, as it were, of freedom; if the man, most eminent for justice, and sanctity, and general excellence, should assail that liberty which he has asserted, the issue must necessarily be pernicious, if not fatal, not only to the aggressor, but to the entire system and interests of piety herself. Honour and virtue would indeed appear to be empty names; the credit and character of religion would decline and perish under a wound more deep than any which, since the first transgression, had been inflicted upon the race of man. You have engaged in a most arduous undertaking, which will search you to the quick; which will bring to the severest test your spirit, your energy, your stability; which will ascertain whether you are really actuated by that living piety, and honour, and equity, and moderation, which seem, with the favour of God, to have raised you to your present high dignity. To rule with your counsels three mighty realms, in the place of their erroneous institutions; to introduce a sounder system of doctrine and of discipline, to pervade their remotest provinces with unremitting attention and anxiety, vigilance and foresight; to decline no labours, to yield to no blandishments of pleasure, to spurn the pageantries of wealth and of power. These are difficulties, in comparison

of which those of war are the mere levities of play; these will sift and winnow you; these demand a man sustained by the Divine assistance, tutored and instructed almost by a personal communication with his God. These, and more than these, you often, as I doubt not, revolve in your mind, and make the subjects of your deepest meditations, greatly solicitous how most happily they may be achieved, and your country's freedom be strengthened and secured; and these objects you cannot, in my judgment, otherwise effect than by admitting, as you do, to an intimate share in your counsels, those men who have already participated your toils and your dangers; men of the utmost moderation, integrity, and valour; not rendered savage or austere by the sight of so much bloodshed, and of so many forms of death; but inclined to justice, to the reverence of the Deity, to a sympathy with human suffering, and animated for the preservation of liberty with a zeal strengthened by the hazards, which for its own sake they have encountered; men not raked together from the dregs of our own or of a foreign populace—not a band of mercenary adventurers; but men chiefly of a superior condition; in extraction noble or respectable; with respect to property, considerable or competent, or in some instances deriving a stronger claim to our regard, even from their poverty itself; men not concerned

by the love of plunder ; but, in times of extreme difficulty, amidst circumstances generally doubtful, and often almost desperate, excited to vindicate their country from oppression ; and prompt, not only in the safety of the senate-house, to wage a war of words, but to join battle with the enemy in the field. If we will then renounce the idleness of never-ending and fallacious expectation, I see not in whom, if not in them, and such as these, we can place reliance and trust. Of their FIDELITY we have the surest and most indisputable proof in the readiness which they have discovered even to die, if it had been their lot, in the cause of their country : of their PIETY, in the devotion with which, having repeatedly and successfully implored the protection of Heaven, they uniformly ascribed the glory to Him from whom they had solicited the victory ; or of their JUSTICE in not exempting even the king from trial and execution ; or of their MODERATION, in our own experience, and in the certainty that, if their violence should disturb the peace which they have established, they would themselves be the first to feel the resulting mischiefs, themselves would receive the first wounds in their own bodies, while they were again doomed to struggle for all their fortunes and honours now happily secured ; of their FORTITUDE, lastly, in that none ever received their liberty with more bravery or effect,

to give us the assurance that none will watch over it with more solicitous attention and care."

This most interesting work concludes with the following striking paragraphs:—

"For myself, whatever may be the final result, such efforts as in my own judgment were the most likely to be beneficial to the commonwealth, I have made without reluctance, though not, as I trust, without effect: I have wielded my weapons for liberty, not only in our domestic scene, but on a far more extensive theatre; that the justice and principle of our extraordinary actions, explained and vindicated, both at home and abroad, and confirmed in the general approbation of the good, might be unquestionably established, as well for the honour of my compatriots as for precedents to posterity. That the conclusion prove not unworthy of such a commencement, be it my countrymen's to provide. It has been mine to deliver a testimony, I had almost said to erect a monument, which will not soon decay, to deeds of greatness and of glory almost transcending human panegyrick; and if I have accomplished nothing farther, I have assuredly discharged the whole of my engagement. As the bard, however, who is denominated Epic, if he confine his work a little within certain canons of composition, proposes to himself, for a subject of poetical embellishment, not the whole life of his hero, but some

single action, (such as the wrath of Achilles, the return of Ulysses, or the arrival in Italy of Æneas,) and takes no notice of the rest of his conduct; so will it suffice either to form my vindication, or satisfy my duty, that I have recorded in heroic narrative one only of my fellow-citizen's achievements. The rest I omit: for who can declare all the great actions of a whole people? If, after such valiant exploits, you fall into gross delinquency, and perpetrate any thing unworthy of yourself, posterity will not fail to discuss and to pronounce sentence on the disgraceful deed. The foundation they will allow indeed to have been firmly laid, and the first (nay, more than the first) parts of the superstructure to have been extended with success; but with anguish they will regret that there were none found to carry it forward to completion; that such an enterprise and such virtues were not crowned by perseverance; that a rich harvest of glory and abundant materials for heroic achievement were prepared; but that men were wanting for the illustrious opportunity, while there wanted not a man to instruct, to urge, to stimulate to action,—a man who would call fame as well upon the acts as the actors, and could spread their celebrity and their names over land and seas to the admiration of all future ages.”

This work, with an accompanying letter, was

presented to the Protector by Andrew Marvell, Esq. at Eton.' His letter, informing the Author of the manner in which it was received, is dated Eton, June 2nd. 1654, and is directed, "For my honoured friend, JOHN MILTON Esq. Secretary for the Foreign Affairs, at his house in Petty France, Westminster."*

In this house he had lost his first wife, with whom, so far as appears, he had from the period of their reconciliation, lived in comfort. Here also, in 1655, he lost his second, Catharine, the daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney, who is designated "a zealous sectarist." This lady, of whom MILTON appears to have been passionately fond, died in childbed with a daughter, about a year after their marriage. The sorrows of his heart on this melancholy event, were vented in the following most touching Sonnet :--

ON HIS DECEASED WIFE.

"Methought I saw my late espoused saint
Brought to me like Alcestis, from the grave,
Whom Jove's great son to her glad husband gave,
Rescued from death by force, though pale and faint:
Mine, as whom washed from spot of child-bed taint,
Purification in the old law did save,
And such, as yet once more I trust to have
Full sight of her in heaven without restraint,

* *Simmons's Life of MILTON*, note, p. 456.

Came vested all in white, pure as her mind!
Her face was veiled ; yet to my fancied sight,
Love, sweetness, goodness, in her person shined
So clear, as in no face with more delight.
But Oh ! as to embrace me she inclined,
I waked ; she fled ; and day brought back my night."

In the year 1656, he dedicated to the newly-called parliament, " A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes ; showing that it is not lawful for any Power on earth to compel in matters of Religion."

It thus begins:—

"To the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, and the Dominions thereof:—I have prepared, supreme Council, against the expected time of your sitting, this Treatise, which, though to all Christian magistrates equally belonging, and therefore to have been written in the common language of Christendom, natural duty and affection hath confined and dedicated first to my own nation ; and in a season wherein the timely reading thereof, to the easier accomplishment of your great work, may save you much labour and interruption : of two parts usually proposed, Civil and Ecclesiastical, recommending Civil only to your proper care, Ecclesiastical to them only from whom it takes its name and nature.

"In regard that your power is but for a time,

and having in yourselves a Christian liberty of your own, which at one time or other may be oppressed, thereof truly sensible, it will concern you so long as you are in power, so to regard other men's consciences, as you would your own should be regarded in the power of others, and to consider that any law against conscience, is alike in force against any conscience, and so may one way or other justly redound upon yourselves. One advantage I make no doubt of, that I shall write to many eminent persons of your number, already perfect and resolved in this important article of Christianity."

He explains what he intended by liberty of conscience: "I here mean by conscience or religion, that full persuasion whereby we are assured that our belief and practice, as far as we are able to apprehend and probably make appear, is according to the will of God and his Holy Spirit within us, which we ought to follow much rather than any law of man, as not only his word every where bids us, but the very dictate of reason tells us, Acts iv. 19, *Whether it be right in the sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye.* That for belief or practice in religion according to this conscientious persuasion, no man ought to be punished or molested by any outward force upon earth whatsoever, I distrust not, through God's implored assistance, to make plain, by

these following arguments. To sum up all in brief: if we must believe as the magistrate appoints, why not rather as the church? If not of either without conviction, how can force be lawful? But some are ready to cry out, 'What shall then be done with blasphemy?' Them I would first exhort not thus to terrify and pose the people with a *Greek* word; but to teach them better what it is, being a most usual and common word in that language, to signify any slander, any malicious or evil-speaking, whether against God or man, or any thing to good belonging. *Blasphemy*, or evil-speaking against God maliciously, is far from *conscience* in religion, according to that of Mark, ix. 39, *There is none can do a powerful work in my name, and can lightly speak evil of me*. If this suffice not, I refer them to that well-deliberated Act, August 9th, 1650,* where the Parliament defines blasphemy against God, as far as it is a crime belonging to civil jurisdiction, *plenius ac melius Chrysippo est Cranton*; in plain English, more warily, more judiciously, more orthodoxally, than twice their number of divines have done in many a prolix volume; although, in all likelihood, they whose

* With the following title—"An Act against several Atheistical, Blasphemous, and execrable Opinions, derogatory to the honour of God, and destructive to Human Society."

whole study and profession these things are, should be most intelligent and authentic therein, as they are for the most part, yet neither they nor these unerring always, or infallible.

“ No Protestant, therefore, of what sect soever, following Scripture only, which is the common sect in which they all agree, and the granted rule of every man’s conscience to himself, ought, by the common doctrine of Protestants, to be forced or molested for religion. But as for popery and idolatry, why they also may not hence plead for idolatry, I have much less to say. This religion, the more considered, the less can be acknowledged a religion; being indeed more properly named a Catholic heresy against the Scriptures, supported mainly by a civil, and, except in Rome, by a foreign power; justly therefore to be suspected, and not tolerated by a magistrate of another country. Besides, of an implicit faith which they profess, the conscience also becomes implicit, and so by voluntary servitude to man’s law, forfeits her Christian liberty. Who then can plead for such a conscience, as being implicitly enthralled to man, instead of God, almost becomes no conscience, as the will, not free, becomes no will. Nevertheless, if they ought not to be tolerated, it is for just reason of state more than of religion; which they who force, though professing to be Protestants, deserve as little to

be tolerated themselves, being no less guilty of popery in the most popish point. On these four reasons, the Scriptures, Testimonies, Examples, and Experiences, as on a firm square, this truth, the right of Christian and evangelick liberty, will stand immoveable against all those pretended consequences of license and confusion, which, for the most part, men most licentious and confused themselves, or such as whose severity would be wiser than Divine wisdom, are ever aptest to object against the ways of God; as if God without them, when he gave us this liberty, knew not of the worst which these men in their arrogance pretend will follow, yet knowing all the worst, he gave us this liberty as by him judged best.

“What evangelical religion is, is told in two words, Faith and Charity, or Belief and Practice; and that both these flow either the one from the understanding, the other from the will, or both jointly from both; once indeed naturally free, but now only as they are regenerate, and wrought on by Divine grace, is in part evident to common sense and principles unquestioned; the rest by Scripture.”

He thus concludes: “The brevity here, not exceeding a small manuel, will not therefore, I suppose, be thought the less considerable, unless with them perhaps who think that great books

only can determine great matters. I rather chose the common rule, not to make much ado where less may serve, which in controversies, and those especially of religion, would make them less tedious, and by consequence read often by many more, and with more benefit."

In 1658, he dedicated to the Parliament a treatise entitled, "*Considerations touching the likeliest way to remove Hirelings out of the Church.*" In this he employs the same plain and bold style by which his former works are distinguished. The design of this work was to stir up the parliament to abolish the system of tithe, and, instead of it, to leave the support of the established clergy to the voluntary contributions of their respective flocks. The parliament had voted, in 1649, that *tithes should be taken away*, as soon as another maintenance for the clergy should be agreed upon. Several petitions came out of the country, praying the House to bring the affair to an issue. One member advised that the tithes all over the kingdom might be collected into a treasury, and that the ministers might be paid their salaries out of it; while others, looking upon tithes as unlawful, would have had all the livings valued, and the parish to engage to pay the minister; this subject was now revived, and the Presbyterians became seriously alarmed lest they should be deprived of

their livings; which they undertook to prove were *jure divino*, and that they had a clear scriptural right to the "tenths of all."*

He thus plainly addresses the senate of the nation:—

"Owing to your protection, supreme senate, this liberty of writing which I have used these eighteen years, on all occasions, to assert the just rights and freedom of Church and State, and so far approved, as to have been trusted with the representment and defence of your actions to all

* Neal's Hist. of Puritans, vol. iv. p. 508.

The celebrated Richard Baxter, in the preface to his "Reformed Pastor," published in April, 1656, says, "Hath it not been put to the vote in an assembly that some call a Parliament of England, whether the whole frame of the established ministry and its legal maintainance should be taken down? and were we not put to plead our title to that maintainance, as if we had fallen into the hands of Turks, that had thirsted for our subversion, as resolved enemies to the Christian cause? And who knows not how many of these men are yet alive? and how high the same spirit yet is, and busily contriving the accomplishment of the same design? Shall we think that they have ceased from their enterprise, because they are working more subtilly in the dark?"

Mr. Baxter says, in another work: "It was put to the vote whether all the parish ministers should not be put down through the nation, that the best of them might be set up in another way; and that this proposal was carried in the negative by two voices only."

Christendom against an enemy of no mean repute, to whom should I address what I still publish on the same argument, but to you, whose magnanimous counsels first opened and unbound the age from a double bondage under prelatical and legal tyranny; above our own hopes heartening us to look up at best like men and Christians, wherein from father to son we were bred up and taught; and thereby deserving of these nations, if they be not barbarously ingrateful, to be acknowledged, next under God, the authors and best patrons of religious and civil liberty that ever these islands brought forth."

He speaks of "the just petition of thousands in regard to religion," and says, "Whether ye will listen to them, or whether ye will satisfy, which you never can, the covetous pretences and demands of insatiable hirelings, whose disaffection you well know both to yourselves and your resolutions." He then proves that ministers under the gospel dispensation have no claim to be supported by tithes, unless, "if any man be so minded as to give them of his own the tenths or twentieths."—"Under the law, God gave them tithes; under the gospel, having left all things in his church to charity or Christian freedom, he hath given them only what is freely given them."

To the objection, that without a compulsory maintenance of ministers from tithes, there would

be many villages not provided with religious instruction, he remarks, that competent persons belonging to large congregations in their respective neighbourhoods might be sent to instruct them. "To these I might add other helps, which we enjoy now, to make more easie the attainment of Christian religion by the meanest: the entire Scripture translated into English, with plenty of notes; and somewhere or other, I trust, may be found some wholesome body of divinity, as they call it, without school terms and metaphysical notions, which have obscured rather than explained our religion, and made it seem difficult without cause. Thus taught once for all, and thus now and then visited and confirmed; in the most destitute and poorest places of the land, under the government of their own elders, performing all ministerial offices among them, they may be trusted to meet and edifie one another, whether in church or chappel; or to save them the trudging of many miles thither, neerer home, though in a house or barn. For notwithstanding the gaudy superstition of some devoted still ignorantly to temples, we may be well assured, that he who disdained not to be laid in a manger, disdains not to be preached in a barn; and that by such meetings as these, being indeed most apostolical and primitive, they will in a short time advance more in Christian knowledge and

reformation of life, than by the many year's preaching of such an incumbent, I may say such an incubus, oftentimes as will be meanly hired to abide long in those places."

He recommends that the revenues left for superstitious purposes, but intended by the donors for good and best uses, should be employed to erect school-houses all over the land, and to provide competent libraries to be connected with such schools, "where languages and arts may be taught free together. So all the land," he adds, "would soon be better civilized, and those who are taught freely at the public cost, might have their education given them on this condition, that therewith content, they should not gad for preferment out of their own country, but continue there, thankful for what they received freely, bestowing it as freely upon their country, without soaring above the meanes wherein they are born. But how they shall live when they are thus bred and dismiss'd, will be still the sluggish objection. To which is answered, that those public foundations may be so instituted, as the youth therein may be at once brought up to a competence of learning and an honest trade; and the hours of teaching so ordered, as their study may be no hindrance to their labor or other calling. This was the breeding of St. Paul, though born of no mean parents, a free citizen of the Roman empire: so

little did his trade debase him, that it rather enabled him to use that magnanimity of preaching the gospel through Asia and Europe at his own charges: thus those preachers among the Waldenses, the ancient stock of our reformation, without these helps which I speak of, brought up themselves in trades, and especially in physic and surgery, as well as in the study of Scripture, (which is the only true theology,) that they might be no burden to the church, and by the example of Christ, might cure both soul and body, through industry joining that to their ministry which he joined to his by gift of the Spirit. Thus relates Peter Gillies, in the History of the Waldenses in Piemont. But our ministers think scorn to use a trade, and count it the reproach of this age, that tradesmen preach the gospel. It were to be wished they were all tradesmen, they would not then so many of them, for want of another trade, make a trade of their preaching; and yet they clamour that tradesmen preach, and yet they preach when they themselves are the worst tradesmen of all."

After alluding to his "*Treatise of Civil Power*," &c. he says: "It remains now to speak of *hire*, the other evil so mischievous in religion.—This I am sensible will be a work unpleasing to some: but what truth is not hateful to some or other, as this in likelihood will be to

none but *Hirelings*. And if there be among them who hold it their duty to speak impartial truth, as the work of their ministry, though not performed without money; let them not envy others who think the same no less their duty by the general office of Christianity, to speak truth as in all reason may be thought more impartially and consuspectingly without money.

“It remains to consider in what manner God hath ordained that recompense be given to ministers of the gospel; and by all Scripture it will appear that he hath given it them not by civil law and freehold as they claim, but by the benevolence and free gratitude of such as receive them, (Luke x. 7, 8,) eating and drinking such things as they give you. If they receive you, eat such things as are set before you. (Matthew x. 7, 8.) ‘As ye go preach, saying, The Kingdom of God is at hand,’ &c. ‘Freely ye have received, freely give.’ If God hath ordained ministers to preach freely, whether they receive recompense or no, then certainly he hath forbid both them to compel it, and others to compel it for them.

Speaking of the parish ministers, he says: “They pretend that their education, either at school or the university, has been very chargeable, and therefore ought to be repaid after by a fruitful maintainance, whereas it is well known that the better half of them (and oftentimes poor

and pitiful boys, of no merit or promising hopes that might entitle them to the public provision, but their poverty and the unjust favour of friends,) have had the most of their breeding, both of school and university, by scholarships, exhibitions, and fellowships, at the public cost, which might engage them the rather to give freely as they freely received. Or if they have mist of these helps at the latter place, their studies there, (if they ever well began them,) and undertaken, though furnished with little else but ignorance, boldness, and ambition, if with no worse vices, a chaplainship in some gentleman's house, to the frequent imbasing of his sons with illiterate and narrow principles. Or if they have lived there upon their own, who knows not that seven years' charge of living there, to them who fly not from the government of their parents to the license of the university, but come seriously to study, is no more than may be well defrayed and reimburs'd by one year's revenue of an ordinary good benefice. If they had then means of breeding from their parents, 'tis likely they have more now; and if they have, it must be mechanic and disingenuous in them to bring a Bill of Charges for the learning of those liberal arts and sciences which they have learnt, (if they indeed learnt them, as they seldom have,) to their own benefit and accomplishment. So long ago out of date

is that old true saying—*If any man desire the office of a bishoprick, he desireth a good work*; for now commonly he that desires to be a minister, looks not at the work, but at the wages, and by that lure of Loubel, may be tolled from parish to parish all the town over.

“I have thus at large examined the usual pretences of hirelings, covered over most commonly with the cause of learning, and the universities; as if with such divines learning stood and fell, wherein, for the most part, their pittance is so small; and, to speak freely, it were much better there were not one divine in the university, nor no school divinity known, the idle sophistry of monks, the canker of religion: and that they who intended to be ministers, were trained up in the church only by the scriptures, and in the original languages thereof, at school, without fetching the compass of other arts and sciences more than they can well learn a secondary leisure and at home. Neither speak I this in contempt of learning, or the ministry, but hating the common cheats of both; hating that they who have preached out bishops, prelates, and canonists, should, in what seems their own ends, retain their false opinions, their pharasaical living, their avarice, and closely their ambition, their pluralities, their non-residences, their odious fees, and use their legal and popish arguments for tithes:

that *Independents* should take that name, and seek to be *dependents* on the magistrate for their maintenance ; which two things, *Independence* and *State-hire* in religion, can never consist long or certainly together. For magistrates at one time or other, not like those at present, our patrons of Christian liberty, will pay none but such whom, by their committees of examination, they find conformable to their interest and opinions : and hirelings will soon frame themselves to that interest, and those opinions which they see best pleasing to their paymasters : and to seem right themselves will force others as to the truth. But most of all they are to be reviled and shamed, who cry out with the distinct voice of notorious hirelings, that if you settle not our maintenance by laws, farewell the gospel ; than which nothing can be uttered more false, more ignominious, and, I may say, more blasphemous against our Saviour, who hath promised without this condition, both his Holy Spirit and his own presence with his church to the world's end."

He thus concludes : " Of which hireling crew, together with all the mischiefs, dissensions, troubles, wars, merely of their own kindling, Christendom might soon rid herself, and be happy, if Christians would but know their own dignity, their liberty, their adoption, and let it not be wondered, if I say, their spiritual priesthood,

whereby they have all equally access to any ministerial functions whenever called by their own abilities and the church, though they never came near commencements or university. But while protestants, to avoid the due labours of understanding their own religion, are content to lodge it in their books, or in the breast of a clergyman, and to take it thence by scraps and mam-mocks as he dispenses it in his Sunday Dole ; they will be always learning and never knowing ; always infants ; always either his vassals as lay papists are to their priests ; or at odds with him, as reformed principles give them some light to be not wholly conformable ; whence infinite disturbances in the state, as they do, must needs follow. Thus much I had to say ; and I suppose what may be enough to them who are not avariciously bent otherwise, touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church ; than which nothing can more conduce to truth, to peace, and all happiness, both in church and state. If I be not heard nor believed, the event will bear me witness to have spoken truth ; and I in the mean while have borne my witness, not out of season to the church and my country."

The death of the mighty Oliver Cromwell, on September 3rd, 1658, prevented the accomplishment of this and other noble plans for the benefit of the nation. Sad confusions followed, but MIL-

TON still proved himself alive to its best interests, and struggled till the last moment to prevent the destruction of the Commonwealth, and the return of the nation to Monarchy and Episcopacy. The successor to the Protectorate, Richard Cromwell, was not able to guide the helm at this stormy period, and soon resigned his troublesome office.

It is said, that after the loss of his second wife, in 1655, he had absented himself from court, except when absolutely called thither by his duties as Latin Secretary. He says of himself, in a letter, dated December 18th, 1657, to a young friend who had written to him to solicit the office of Secretary to our ambassador in Holland: "I am grieved that it is not in my power to serve you in this point, inasmuch as I have very few familiarities with the *gratiosi* of the court, who keep myself almost wholly at home, and am willing to do so."

The year after the death of Cromwell, he thus speaks in a letter to Henry Oldenburgh, the tutor to Lord Ranelagh, who had formerly been the pupil of MILTON. "Far be it from me to think, as you seem to desire, of writing the history of our late convulsions; which indeed are more worthy to be forgotten than to be commemorated: nor does my country now stand in need of a person to record her intestine commo-

tions, but of one qualified to bring them to an auspicious conclusion.”* Upon this extract some writers have concluded he spoke of the whole period of the Commonwealth, whereas, it is evident to me, he alludes only to the convulsions which ensued after the death of Cromwell.

MILTON addressed the following letter to a friend, bearing date October 20, 1659, which relates “to the Ruptures of the Commonwealth,” from which may be learned what were the nature of his republican principles, and probably what were his suspicions of General Monk.

“Sir,

“Upon the sad and serious discourse which we fell into last night, concerning these ruptures in the Commonwealth, scarce yet in her infancy, which cannot be without some inward flaw in her bowels; I began to consider more intensely thereon than I have ever bin wont, resigning myself to the wisdom and care of those who hold the government; and not finding that either God or the publick required more from me, than my prayers for them that govern. And since you have not only stirred up my thoughts, by acquainting me with the state of affairs, more inwardly than I knew before; but also have

* Lives of Edward and John Philips.

desired me to set down my opinion thereof, trusting to your injenuity, I will give you freely my apprehensions, both of our present evils, and what expedients, if God in mercy regard us, may remove them.

“I will begin by telling you how I was overjoyed, when I heard that the army, under the working of God’s Holy Spirit, as I thought, and still hope will have been so far wrought to Christian humility and self-denial, as to confess in publick their backsliding from the good old cause, and to show the priests of their repentance, in the righteousness of restoring the old famous [Long] Parliament, which they had without just authority dissolved. I call it the *famous* Parliament, though not the harmless, since none well-affected but will confess they have deserved much more of this nation, than they have undeserved. And I persuade me that God was pleased with their restitution, signing it as he did, with such a signal victory, when so just a part of the nation were desperately inspired to call back again their Egyptian bondage.

“So much the more it now amazes me, that they, whose lips were yet scarce closed for giving thanks for that great deliverance, should be now relapsing, and so soon again backsliding into the same fault, which they confest so lately, and so solemnly to God and the world, and

more lately punished in those *Cheshire* rebels ; that they should now dissolve that Parliament which they themselves re-established and acknowledged for their supreme power in their other day's humble representation ; and all this, for no other apparent cause of public concernment to the church and Commonwealth, but only for discommissioning nine great officers of the army ; which had not bin don, as is reported, but upon notice of their intentions against the Parliament.

“I presume not to give my censure of this action, not knowing, as yet I do not, the bottom of it. I speak only what it appears to us without doors, till better cause be declared, and I am sure to all other nations, most illegal and scandalous, I fear me barbarous, or any scarce to be exampled among any barbarians, that a paid army should, for no other cause, thus subdue the supreme power which set them up. This, I say, other nations will judge to the sad dishonour of that army, lately so renowned for the civilist and best ordered in the world, and by us here at home for the most conscientious. Certainly if the great officers and soldiers of the Holland, French, and Venetian forces, should thus sit in council, and write from garrison to garrison against their superiors, they might as easily reduce the king of *France*, or Duke of

Venice, and put the United Provinces in like disorder and confusion! Why do they not, being most of them held ignorant of the true religion? Because the light of nature, the laws of human reverence of their magistrates, covenants, engagements, loyalty, allegiance, keep them in awe. How grievous will it then be! How infamous to the true religion which we profess! How dishonourable to the name of God, that his fear, and the power of his knowledge in an army professing to be his, should not work that obedience, that fidelity to their supreme magistrates, that levied them and paid them, when the light of nature, the laws of human society, covenants and contracts, yea, common shame, works in other armies amongst the worst of them, which will undoubtedly pull down the heavy judgment of God among us, who cannot but avenge their hypocrisies, violations of truth and holiness, if they be indeed so as they yet seem.

“For, neither do I speak this in reproach of the army, but as jealous of their honour, inciting them to manifest and publish with all speed, some better cause of these their late actions, than hath hitherto appeared, and to send out the *Achan* among them, whose close ambition in all probability abuses their honest natures against their meaning to these disorders: their readiest

way to bring in again the common enemy, and with him the destruction of true religion and civil liberty.

“But, because our evils are now grown more dangerous and extreme than to be remedied by complaints, it concerns us now to find out what remedies may be likeliest to save us from approaching ruin. Being now in anarchy, without a counselling and governing power; and the army, I suppose, finding themselves insufficient to discharge at once both military and civil affairs, the first thing to be found out with all speed, without which no commonwealth can subsist, must be a senate or general council of state, in whom must be the power, first to preserve the public peace, next the commerce with foreign nations, and lastly to raise money for the management of these affairs: this must be the Parliament re-admitted to sit, or a council of state, allowed of by the army, since they only now have the power. The terms to be stood on are, liberty of conscience to all professing the Scripture the rule of their faith and worship: and the abjuration of a single person.

“If the Parliament be again thought on to save honour on both sides, the well affected party in the city, and the congregated churches, may be induced to mediate by public addresses, and brotherly beseechings; which, if there be that

sainthood among us which is talked of, ought to be of highest and undeniable persuasion to reconciliation. If the Parliament be thought well dissolved, as not complying fully to grant liberty of conscience, and the necessary consequence thereof, the removal of a forced maintenance upon ministers, then must the army forthwith choose a council of state, whereof as many to be of the Parliament, as are undoubtedly affected to those two conditions proposed.

“That which I conceive only able to cement and unite for ever the army, either to the parliament recalled, or this chosen council, must be a mutual league and oath, private or publick, not to forsake each other till death; that is to say, that the army be kept up, and all these officers in their places during life, and so likewise the parliament, or counsellors, which will be no way unjust, considering their known merits on either side in council or in field: unless any be found false to any of these two principles, or otherwise personally criminous in the judgments of the two parties. If such an union of this be not accepted on the army's part, be confident there is a single person underneath. That the army be upheld, the necessity of our affairs and factions will constrain long enough perhaps to content the longest liver in the army. And whether the civil ~~government~~ be an annual demo-

cracy, or a perpetual aristocracy, is not to me a consideration for the perils in which we are, and the hazard of our safety from our common enemy, gaping at present to devour us. That it be not an oligarchy, or the faction of a few, may be easily prevented by the members being of their own choosing, who may be found infallibly constant to those two conditions forenamed, full liberty of conscience, and the abjuration of monarchy proposed: and the well ordered committees of their faithful adherents in every county may give this government the resemblance and effects of a perfect democracy.

“As for the reformation of laws, and the places of judicature, whether it be here as at present, or in every county, as hath been long aimed at, and many such proposals, tending, no doubt, to publick good, they may be considered in due time, when we are past these pernicious pangs, in a hopeful way of health, and a firm constitution. But, unless these things, as I have above proposed, one way or other, be once settled, in my fear, which God avert, we instantly ruin; or, at best, become the servants of one or another single person, the secret author and fomentor of these disturbances.

“You have the sense of my present thoughts, as much as I understand of these affairs, freely imparted at your request; and the persuasion you

wrought in me, that I may chance hereby to be somewhat serviceable to the commonwealth, in a time when all ought to be endeavouring what good they can, whether much or but little. With this you may do what you please, put out, put in, communicate or suppress: you offend not one, who only obeyed your opinion, that in doing what I have done, I might happen to offer something which might be of use in this great time of need. However, I have not been wanting to the opportunity which you have presented before me, of shewing the readiness which I have, in the midst of my unfitness, to whatever may be required of me as a publick duty."

October 20th, 1659.

He then published, with a view to prevent the rising whirlwind which he considered likely to overwhelm the nation in destruction, "The ready and safe way to establish a free Commonwealth."

"Although, since the writing of this treatise, the face of things hath had some change, writs for new elections have been recalled, and the members at first chosen re-admitted from exclusion; yet not a little rejoiced to hear declared resolutions of those who are in power tending to the establishment of a free commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humour of returning to bondage, instilled of late by some

deceivers, and nourished from bad principles and false apprehensions among too many of the people, I thought best not to suppress what I had written, hoping it may now be of much more use and concernment to be freely published in the midst of our elections, to a free parliament or their sittings, to consider freely of the government, whom it behoves to have all things represented to them that may direct their judgment therein; and I never read of any state, scarce of any tyrant grown so incurable, as to refuse counsel from any in a time of publick deliberation, much less to be offended. If their absolute determination be to enthrall us, before so long a lent of servitude they may permit us a little shroving-time first, wherein to speak freely, and take our leaves of liberty." In a second edition of this work he thus speaks:—

"The parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of religion and their civil liberties, judging kingship by long experience a government unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous, justly and magnanimously abolished it, turning regal bondage into a free commonwealth, to the admiration and terror of our emulous neighbours. They took themselves not bound by the light of nature or religion to any former covenant, from which the king him-

self, by many forfeitures of a latter date or discovery, and our own long consideration thereon, had more and more unbound us, both to himself and his posterity; as hath been ever the justice and prudence of all wise nations that have ejected tyranny. They covenanted *to preserve the king's person and authority, in the preservation of the true religion and our liberties*; not in his endeavouring to bring in upon our consciences a popish religion; upon our liberties thralldom; upon our lives destruction, by his occasioning, if not plotting, as was afterwards discovered, the Irish massacre; his fomenting and arming the rebellion; his covert league with the rebels against us; his refusing more than seven times propositions most just and necessary to the true religion and our liberties, tendered him by the parliament both of England and Scotland.

“And what will they at best say of us, and of the whole *English* name, but scoffingly, as of that foolish builder mentioned by our Saviour, who began to build a tower, and was not able to finish it? Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English began to build?”

He thus boldly remonstrates with the nation in regard to the invitation which it was proposed to make to Charles. “If there be a king, which the inconsiderate multitude are now so mad upon, mark how far short we are like to come of all

those happinesses which in a free state we shall be immediately possessed of."

After shewing what a tide of immorality and profaneness it might be expected would flow after the restoration of the libertine who was considered by the abettors of monarchy the hereditary successor to the throne, he says:

"I will now proceed to show more particularly wherein our freedom and flourishing condition will be more ample and secure to us under a free commonwealth than under kingship.

"The whole freedom of man consists either in spiritual or civil liberty. As for spiritual, who can be at rest, who can enjoy any thing in this world with contentment, who hath not liberty to serve God, and to save his own soul, according to the best light which God hath planted in him to that purpose, by the reading of his revealed will, and the guidance of his Holy Spirit? That this is best pleasing to God, and that the whole Protestant church allows no supream judge or rule in matters of religion, but the Scriptures, and these to be interpreted by the Scriptures themselves, which necessarily implies liberty of conscience, I have heretofore proved at large in another treatise, and might yet further by the public declarations, confessions, and admonitions of whole churches and states, obvious in all histories since the Reformation.

“This liberty of conscience, which, above all other things, ought to be to all men dearest and most precious, no government more inclinable not to favour only, but to protect, than a free commonwealth; as being most magnanimous, most fearless, and confident of its own proceedings. Whereas kingship, though looking big, yet indeed, most pusillanimous, full of fears, full of jealousies, startled at every umbrage, as it hath been observed of old to have suspected most, and mistrusted them who were in most esteem for virtue and generosity of mind; so it is now known to have most in doubt and suspicion them who are most reputed to be religious. What liberty of conscience can we expect from those who from the cradle have been trained up and governed by *Popish* and *Spanish* counsels, and on such depending hitherto for subsistence?”

The commander-in-chief in Scotland, Monk, had arrived in London, April, 1659, when the following letter was addressed to that general by MILTON. This was entitled,

“The present means, and brief delineation of a Free Commonwealth, easy to be put in practice, and without delay. In a letter to General Monk.” This was published from the manuscript in his works, after his death.

“First, All endeavours speedily to be used, that the ensuing elections be of such as are al-

ready firm, or inclinable to constitute a free commonwealth, (according to the former qualifications decreed in parliament, and not yet repealed, as I hear,) without single person, or House of Lords. If there be not such, but the contrary, who foresees not that our liberties will be utterly lost in this next parliament, without some powerful course taken of speediest prevention? The speediest way will be to call up forthwith the chief gentlemen out of every county, to lay before them (as your Excellency hath already, both in your published letters to the army, and your declaration recited to members of parliament) the danger and confusion of re-admitting kingship in this land; especially against the rules of all prudence and example, in a family once ejected, and thereby not to be trusted with the power of revenge; that you will no longer delay them with vain expectation, but will put into their hands forthwith the possession of a free commonwealth, if they will first return immediately and elect them by such at least of the people as are rightly qualified; a standing council in every city and great town, which may then be dignified by the name of city, continually to consult the good and flourishing state of that place, with a competent territory adjoined; to assume the judicial laws, either those that are, or such as they themselves shall now make seve-

rally, in each commonalty, and all judicatures, all magistrates, to the administration of all justice between man and man, and all the ornaments of publick civility, academies, and such like in their own hands. Matters appertaining to men of several counties, or territories, may be determined as they are here at *London*, or in some more convenient place, under equal judges.

“ Next, That in every such capital place, they will choose them the usual number of ablest knights and burgesses, engaged for a commonwealth to make up the parliament, (or, as it will be henceforth be better called,) the Grand or General Council of the Nation, whose office must be, with due caution, to dispose of forces both by sea and land, under the conduct of your Excellency, for the preservation of peace both at home and abroad; must raise and manage the public revenue, but with provided inspection of their accompts; must administer all forien affairs, make all general laws, peace, or war, but not without assent of the standing council in each city, or such other general assembly as may be called on such occasion from the whole territory, where they may, without much trouble, deliberate on all things fully, and send up their suffrages within a set time, by deputies appointed. Though this Grand Council be perpetual, (as in that book I proved would be best, and most conformable to

best example,) yet they will then, thus limited, have so little matter in their hands, or power to endanger our liberty, and the people so much in theirs to prevent them, having all judicial laws in their own choice, and free votes in all those which concern generally the whole commonwealth, that we shall have little cause to fear the perpetuity of our general senate, which will be then nothing else but a firm foundation and custody of our public liberty, peace, and union, through the whole commonwealth, and the transactions of our affairs with forien nations.

“ If this expedient be not thought enough, the known expedient may at length be used of a partial rotation.

“ Lastly, If these gentlemen convocated, refuse these fair and noble offers of immediate liberty and happy condition, no doubt there be enough in every county who will thankfully accept them, your Excellency once more declaring publicly this to be your mind, and having a faithful veteran army, so ready and good, to assist you in the prosecution thereof. For the full and absolute administration of law in every county, which is the difficultest of these proposals, hath been of most long desired, and the not granting it held a general grievance. The rest, when they shall see the beginnings and proceedings of these constitutions proposed, and the orderly, the decent,

the civil, the safe, the noble effects thereof, will be soon convinced, and by degrees come in of their own accord, and be partakers of so happy a government."

He next published "Brief Notes upon a late Sermon, entitled, 'The fear of God and the King;' preached, and since published, by Matthew Griffith, D.D. and Chaplain to the King. Wherein many notorious wresting of Scripture, and other falsities, are observed."

"I affirmed, in the preface of a late discourse, entitled, 'The ready way to establish a free Commonwealth, and the dangers of re-admitting Kingship into this Nation,' that the humour of returning to our old bondage, was instilled of late by some deceivers; and to make good what I then affirmed was not without just ground, one of those deceivers I present here to the people, and if I prove him not such, refuse not to be so accounted in his stead."

"He begins," says Monk, "in his epistle to the General, [Monk,] and moves cunningly for a license to be admitted physician both to church and state; then sets out his practice in physical terms, 'an wholesome electuary, to be taken every morning next our hearts;' tells of the opposition which he meets with from the college of state physicians; then lays before you his drugs and ingredients:

strong purgations in the pulpit, contempered of the myrrh of mortification, the aloes of confession and contrition, the rhubarb of restitution and satisfaction. A pretty fantastic dose of divinity from a pulpit mountebank, not unlike the fox, that turning pedlar, opened his pack of wares before the kid; though he now would seem to personate the good Samaritan, undertaking to describe the Rise and Progress of our National Malady, and to prescribe the remedy, which how he performs we shall quickly see.

“He commences his address,” says MILTON, “with an infamous calumny and address to his Excellency, [Monk,] that he would be pleased to carry on what he had so happily begun, in the name and cause, not of God only, which we doubt not, but of his anointed, meaning the late king’s son; which is to charge him most audaciously and falsely with the renouncing of his own public promises and declarations both to the parliament and the army, and we trust his actions, ere long, will deter such insinuating slanderers from thus approaching him for the future.”

“The text, ‘*My son, fear God, and the king, and meddle not with them that be seditious or given to change.*’ “That we have no king,” MILTON says, “since the putting down of kingship in this commonwealth, is manifest by this last parliament, who, to the time of their dissolving,

not only made no address at all to any king, but summoned this next to come by the writ formerly appointed of a free commonwealth, without restitution, or the least mention of any kingly right or power; which could not be, if there were at present any king in England. The main part, therefore, of your Sermon, if it mean a king in the usual sense, is either impertinent and absurd," &c.

He says, "Nor are you happier in the relating or moralizing your fable. 'The Frogs (*being once a free nation*, saith the fable) petitioned Jupiter for a king: he tumbled among them a log; they found it insensible. They petitioned then for a king that should be active: he sent them a crane, (a *stork*, saith the fable,) which straight fell to picking them up.' This you apply to the reproof of them who desire change: whereas the true moral shews rather the folly of those, who being free, seek a king; which for the most part, as a log, lies heavy upon his subjects, without doing aught worthy of his dignity and the charge to maintain him, or, as a stork, is ever picking them up or devouring them."

He thus concludes: "As for your Appendix annexed, of the 'Samaritan revived,' finding it so foul a libel against all the well effected of this land since the very time of *ship money*; against the whole Parliament, both Lords and Commons,

except those that fled to Oxford; against the whole reformed church, not only in *England* and *Scotland*, but all over *Europe* (in comparison of whom you and your Prelatical party are more truly Schismatics and Sectarians, nay, more properly Fanatics in your fanes and gilded temples, than those whom you revile by those names,) and meeting with no more Scripture or solid reason in your ‘Samaritan wine and oyl,’ than hath already been found sophisticate and adulterate; I leave your malignant narrative, as needing no other confutations than the just censure already passed upon it by the council of state.”

After having told the Parliament, the soldiers, and others, what they had to expect from “the Son of Charles returning,” he thus concludes:—
“What I have spoken, is the language of that which is not called amiss, *the good old cause*: if it seem strange to any, it will not seem more strange, I hope, than convincing to *backsliders*. Thus much I should perhaps have said, though I were sure I should have spoken only to trees and stones, and had none to cry to, but with the prophet, *O Earth, Earth, Earth!* to tell the very soil itself what her perverse inhabitants are deaf to. Nay, though what I have spoke should happen (which Thou suffer not, who didst create mankind free; nor thou next, who didst redeem us from being servants of men!) to be the last

words of our expiring liberty. But I trust I shall have spoken persuasion to an abundance of sensible and injenuous men ; to some, perhaps, whom God may raise of these stones to become children of reviving liberty ; and may reclaim, though they seem now choosing them a captain back for Egypt, to bethink themselves a little, and consider whither they are rushing ; to exhort this torrent also of the people, not to be so impetuous, but to keep their due channel ; and at length recovering and uniting their better resolutions, now that they see already how open and unbounded the rage is of our common enemy, to slay these ruinous proceedings, justly and timely fearing to what a precipice of destruction the deluge of this epidemic madness would hurry us, through the general defection of a misguided and abused multitude." Thus nobly did this great man display his patriotic zeal for his favourite republic ; but all in vain !

CHAPTER VI.

1655—1658.

THIS seems to be the proper place to introduce the history of that noble zeal, which the Protector Cromwell manifested in defending the Protestant religion; especially as it will afford the opportunity of introducing all the letters written in Latin by MILTON in the name of his noble Master, to the Popish and Protestant Potentates on the continent. The intrepid and humane conduct of Cromwell on this sad occasion advanced his character to an unparalleled height, even in the estimation of the Popish monarchs themselves. "The duke of Savoy raised," says the author of the *Critical History of England*, "a new persecution of the Vaudois, massacring many, and driving the rest from their habitations. Wherefore Cromwell sent to the French court, demanding of them to oblige that duke, [of Alva,] whom he knew to be in their power, to put a stop to his unjust fury, or otherwise he must

break with them. The cardinal [Mazarini] objected to this as unreasonable; he would do good offices, he said, but could not answer for the effects. However, nothing would satisfy the Protector, till they obliged the duke to restore all that he had taken from his protestant subjects, and to renew their former privileges. Cromwell wrote on this occasion to the duke of Alva himself, and by mistake omitted the title of Royal Highness on his letter, upon which the major part of the council of Savoy were for returning it unopened; but one representing that Cromwell would not pass by such an affront, but would certainly lay Villa Franca in ashes, and set the Swiss Cantons upon Savoy, the letter was read, and with the [French] Cardinal's influence had the desired success. The Protector also raised money in England for the poor sufferers, and sent over an agent to settle their affairs.*

* As the following remarkable anecdote mentions MILTON probably as the *Secretary* of the Protector, it may not be unsuitable to introduce it; especially as it is so characteristic of the decision both of Cromwell and MILTON, who were in that respect kindred spirits. It is from a printed speech made in the house of commons by a Mr. Poultney, in a debate on the complaints of the West India merchants, two sessions before the war against Spain was declared:—"This was what Oliver Cromwell did in a like case that happened during his government, and in a case where a more powerful nation was concerned than ever Spain could pretend to

By an order of Cromwell, a collection for this object was made throughout all the parish

be. In the histories of his time we are told, that an English merchant ship was taken in the chops of the channel, carried into St. Maloes, and there confiscated upon some groundless pretence. As soon as the master of the ship, who was an honest quaker, got home, he presented a petition to the protector in council, setting forth his case, and praying for redress. Upon hearing the petition, the protector told his council, he would take that affair upon himself, and ordered the man to attend him next morning. He examined him strictly as to all the circumstances of this case, and finding by his answers that he was a plain honest man, and that he had been concerned in no unlawful trade, he asked him if he would go to Paris with a letter? The man answered he would. 'Well then,' says the protector, 'prepare for your journey, and come to me to-morrow morning.' Next morning he gave him a letter to cardinal Mazarini, and told him he must stay but three days for an answer. 'The answer I mean,' says he, 'is the full value of what you might have made of your ship and cargoe: and tell the cardinal, that if it is not paid you in three days, you have express orders from me to return home.' The honest, blunt quaker, we may suppose, followed his instructions to a tittle; but the cardinal, according to the manner of ministers when they are any way pressed, began to shuffle; therefore the quaker returned, as he was bid. As soon as the Protector saw him, he asked, 'Well, friend, have you got your money?' and upon the man answering him, he had not, the Protector said, 'Then leave your direction with *my Secretary*, and you shall soon hear from me.' Upon this occasion that great man did not stay to negotiate, or to explain by long tedious memorials the reasonableness of his demand; no, though there was a French minister residing here, he did not so much as ac-

churches in England, Wales, and Ireland: it amounted to £38,241. 10s. 6d., the Protector himself commencing the subscription with £2000.* The ambassador which he sent to Piedmont was Sir Samuel Morland, who afterwards published the history of this most murderous crusade, illustrating it with engravings of some of the most revolting and disgusting scenes that can possibly affect the heart or meet the eye.

The following inimitable lines of MILTON are founded upon these horrible representations:—

quaint him with the story, but immediately sent a man of war or two to the channel, with orders to seize every French ship they could meet with. Accordingly they returned in a few days with two or three prizes, which the Protector ordered immediately to be sold, and out of the produce, he paid the quaker what he had demanded for the ship and cargo. Then he sent for the French minister, gave him an account of what had happened, and told him there was a balance, which, if he pleased, should be paid into him, to the end he might deliver it to those of his countrymen who were the owners of the French ships that had been so taken and sold.”—“*Review of the Political Life of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. By the late John Bankes, Esq.; with an Appendix, containing some curious pieces relating to the Lord Protector. A new edition.*” London. Sold by A. Thompson, and others: *without a date.* This work ought to be re-printed.

* Morland's History of the Evangelical Churches in the Valleys of Piedmont, 1658, p. 584, 593.

"ON THE LATE MASSACRE IN PIEDMONT.

"Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughter'd saints, whose bones
 Lie scatter'd on the Alpine mountains cold;
 Even them who kept thy truth so pure of old,
 When all our fathers worship'd stocks and stones,
 Forget not; in thy book record their groans
 Who were thy sheep, and in their ancient fold
 Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that roll'd
 Mother with infants down the rocks.* Their moans
 The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
 To heaven. Their martyr'd blood and ashes sow
 O'er all the Italian fields where still doth grow
 A hundred fold, who have learn'd thy way,
 Early may fly the Babylonian woe."

The compassion and liberality of the Lord Protector were most remarkably exemplified on this occasion. In a narrative, published by special order of the Lord Protector and his Council, preserved by Morland, p. 585, it is said of Cromwell: "Having upon his spirits a deep sense of their calamities, which were occasioned by the faithful adherence to the profession of the Reformed religion, was pleased not only to mediate

* Morland relates, that "a mother was hurl'd down a mighty rock, with a little infant in her arms; and three days after was found dead with the little child alive, but fast clasped between the arms of the dead mother, which were cold and stiff, insomuch that those who found them had much ado to get the young child out."—History of the Vallies of Piedmont, folio, London, 1655, with plates.

by most pathetic letters on their behalf to the King of France and Duke of Savoy, but did also seriously invite the people of this nation to seek the Lord, by prayer and humiliation, in reference to their thus sad condition and future life."

It is pleasing to be informed, by the same historian, of "the notable effects of the intercession of His Highness for the poor distressed Protestants of the Valleys of Piedmont, upon the spirits of the neighbouring princes and states of the Protestant profession:"* it was an high honour to have been the instrument in the hand of Divine Providence, of delivering the prey from the fang of the oppressor.

"There was," says Mr. Banks, "yet a farther design, very advantageous to the Protestant cause with which Cromwell intended to have begun his kingship, had he taken it upon him; and that was, the instituting a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the *congregation de propaganda* at Rome. This body was to consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries for different provinces. The secretaries were to have £500. a year salary a piece, to keep correspondence every where; £10,000. a year was to be a fund for ordinary emergencies: further supplies were to be provided as occasions required; and

* Morland's History, p. 597.

Chelsea College, then an old ruinous building, was fitted up for their reception: this was a great design, and worthy of the man who had formed it.”*

The following letters, written by MILTON to the potentates of Europe, entreating their assistance to put a stop to the cruelties of the Duke of Savoy, show the sentiments and feelings of the Lord Protector, who appears in the most amiable light as an enlightened and pious Protestant, and ought certainly to find a place in a Life of MILTON, as they doubtless exhibit, in a strong point of light, the characteristic features of his spiritual and ardent mind in the cause of pure and undefiled religion, of oppressed and suffering humanity.†

“OLIVER, Protector of the Republick of ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND, To the most Illustrious Prince of TARENTUM, greeting :

“Your love of religion, apparently made known in your letters to us delivered, and your excelling piety and singular affection to the

* Political Life of Cromwell, p. 229.

† These Letters are printed from Philips's Life of Milton, published 1694.

Reformed Churches, more especially considering the nobility and splendor of your character, and in a kingdom too, wherein there are so many and such abounding hopes proposed to all of eminent quality that revolt from the orthodox faith, so many miseries to be undergone by the resolute and constant, gave us an occasion of great joy and consolation of mind. Nor was it less grateful to us that we had gained your good opinion, upon the same account of religion, which ought to render your Highness most chiefly beloved and dear to ourselves. We call God to witness, that whatever hopes or expectations the churches, according to your relation, had of us, we may be able one day to give them satisfaction, if need require, or at least to demonstrate to all men how much it is our desire never to fail them. Nor should we think any fruit of our labours, or of this dignity or supreme employment which we hold in our Republick greater, than that we might be in a condition to be serviceable to the enlargement, or the welfare, or which is more sacred, to the peace of the Reformed Church. In the mean time, we exhort and beseech your Lordship to remain stedfast to the last minute in the orthodox religion, with the same resolution and constancy, as you profess it received from your ancestors with piety and zeal. Nor, indeed, can there be any thing more worthy yourself, or your religious

parents, nor in consideration of what you have deserved of us, though we wish all things for your own sake, that we can wish more noble and advantageous to your Lordship, than that you would take such methods, and apply yourself to such studies, that the churches, especially of your native country, under the discipline of which your birth and genius have rendered you illustriously happy, may be sensible of so much the more assured security in your protection, by how much you excel others in lustre and ability.

“ *Whitehall, April —, 1654.*”

“ OLIVER the Protector, &c. To the most Serene Prince, IMMANUEL Duke of SAVOY, Prince of PIEMONTE, greeting:

“ MOST SERENE PRINCE,

“ Letters have been sent us from *Geneva*, as also from the *Dauphinate*, and many other places bordering upon your territories, wherein we are given to understand, that such of your Royal Highness's subjects as profess the Reformed Religion, are commanded by your Edict, and by your authority, within three days after the promulgation of your Edict, to depart their native

seats and habitations, upon pain of capital punishment, and forfeiture of all their fortunes and estates, unless they will give security to relinquish their religion within twenty days, and embrace the *Roman* Catholic faith. And that when they applied themselves to your Royal Highness in a most suppliant manner, imploring a revocation of the said Edict, and that being received into pristine favour, they might be restored to the liberty granted them by your predecessors, a part of your army fell upon them, most cruelly slew several, put others in chains, and compelled the rest to flye into desert places and to the mountains covered with snow, where some hundreds of families are reduced to such distress, that 'tis greatly to be feared, they will in a short time all miserably perish through cold and hunger. These things, when they were related to us, we could not chuse but be touched with extream grief and compassion for the suffering and calamities of this afflicted people. Now in regard we must acknowledge ourselves linked together not onely by the same tye of humanity, but by joynt communion of the same religion, we thought it impossible for us to satisfie our duty to God, to brotherly charity, or our profession of the same religion, if we should onely be affected with a bare sorrow for the misery and calamity of our brethren, and not contribute all our endeavours

to relieve and succour them in their unexpected adversity, as much as in us lies. Therefore in a greater measure we most earnestly beseech and conjure your Royal Highness, that you would call back to your thoughts the moderation of your most serene predecessors, and the liberty by them granted and confirmed from time to time to their subjects the *Vaudois*. In granting and confirming which, as they did that, which without all question was most grateful to God, who has bin pleased to reserve the jurisdiction and power over the conscience to himself alone, so there is no doubt but that they had a due consideration of their subjects also, whom they found stout and most faithful in war, and always obedient in peace. And as your Royal *Serenity* in other things most laudably follows the footsteps of your immortal ancestors, so we again and again beseech your Royal Highness not to swerve from the path wherein they trod in this particular; but that you would vouchsafe to abrogate both this Edict, and whatsoever else may be decreed to the disturbance of your subjects upon the account of the Reformed Religion; that you would ratafie to them their conceded privileges and pristin liberty, and command their losses to be repaired, and that an end be put to their oppressions. Which if your Royal Highness shall be pleased to see performed, you will do a thing

most acceptable to God, revive and comfort the miserable in dire calamity, and most highly oblige all your neighbours that profess the Reformed Religion, but more especially ourselves, who shall be bound to look upon your clemency and benignity toward your subjects as the fruit of our earnest solicitation. Which will both engage us to a reciprocal return of all good offices, and lay the solid foundations not only of establishing, but increasing alliance and friendship between this republick and your dominions. Nor do we less promise this to ourselves from your justice and moderation; to which we beseech Almighty God to encline your mind and thoughts. And so we cordially implore just Heaven to bestow upon your Highness and your people the blessings of peace and truth, and prosperous success in all your affairs.

“ Whitehall, May —, 1655.”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Republick of ENGLAND,
to the most Serene Prince of TRANSILVANIA,
greeting.

“MOST SERENE PRINCE,

“By your Letters of the 16th. of Nov.
1654, you have made us sensible of your singular

good-will and affection toward us; and your *Envoy*, who delivered those letters to us, more amply declared your desire of contracting alliance and friendship with us. Certainly for our parts, we do not a little rejoyce at this opportunity offered us to declare and make manifest our affection to your Highness, and how great a value we justly set upon your person. But after fame had reported to us your egregious merits and labours undertaken in behalf of the Christian Republick, when you were pleased that all these things, and what you have farther in your thoughts to do in the defence and for promoting *Christian interest*, should be in friendly manner imparted to us by letters from yourself, this afforded us a more plentiful occasion of joy and satisfaction, to hear, that God, in these remoter regions, had raised up to himself so potent and renowned a minister of his glory and providence: and that this great minister of heaven so famed for his courage and success, should be desirous to associate with us in the common defence of the Protestant Religion, at this time wickedly assailed by words and deeds. Nor is it to be questioned but that God, who has infused into us both, though separated by such a spacious interval of many climates, the same desires and thoughts of defending the orthodox religion, will be our instructor and author of the ways and means

whereby we may be assistant and useful to ourselves and the rest of the Reformed cities, provided we watch all opportunities that God shall put into our hands, and be not wanting to lay hold of them. In the mean time we cannot, without an extream and penetrating sorrow, forbear putting your Highness in mind how unmercifully the Duke of *Savoy* has persecuted his own subjects, professing the orthodox faith, in certain valleys at the feet of the *Alps*. Whom he has not only constrained by a most severe Edict, as many as refuse to embrace the Catholick Religion, to forsake their native habitations, goods and estates, but has fallen upon them with his army, put several most cruelly to the sword, others more barbarously tormented to death, and driven the greatest number to the mountains, there to be consumed with cold and hunger, exposing their houses to the fury, and their goods to the plunder of his executioners. These things, as they have already bin related to your Highness, so we readily assure ourselves, that so much cruelty cannot but be grievously displeasing to your ears, and that you will not be wanting to afford your aid and succour to those miserable wretches, if there be any that survive so many slaughters and calamities. For our parts we have written to the Duke of *Savoy*, beseeching him to remove his infenced anger from his subjects; as also to

the king of *France*, that he would vouchsafe to do the same ; and lastly to the princes of the Reformed Religion, to the end they might understand our sentiments concerning so fell and savage a piece of cruelty. Which though first begun upon those poor and helpless people, however threatens all that profess the same Religion, and therefore imposes upon all a greater necessity of providing for themselves in general, and consulting the common safety ; which is the course that we shall always follow, as God shall be pleased to direct us. Of which your Highness may be assured, as also of our sincerity, and affection to your Serenity, whereby we are engaged to wish all prosperous success to your affairs, and a happy issue of all your enterprises and endeavours, in asserting the liberty of the gospel and the worshippers of it.

“ *Whitehall, May, 1655.*”

“ OLIVER, Protector, to the most Serene Prince,
CHARLES GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS, King of the
SWEDES, greeting.

“ We make no question but that the fame of that most rigid Edict has reached your dominions, whereby the Duke of *Savoy* has to-

tally ruined his Protestant subjects inhabiting the *Alpine* valleys, and commanded them to be extirminated from their native seats and habitations, unless they will give security to renounce their religion received from their forefathers, in exchange for the *Roman* catholick superstition, and that within twenty days at farthest; so that many being killed, the rest stripped to their skins and exposed to most certain destruction, are now forced to wander over desert mountains and through perpetual winter, together with their wives and children, half dead with cold and hunger; and that your Majesty has laid it to heart with a pious sorrow and compassionate consideration we as little doubt. For that the Protestant name and cause, although they differ among themselves in some things of little consequence, is nevertheless the same in general and united in one common interest, the hatred of our adversaries, alike infenced against Protestants, very easily demonstrates. Now there is nobody can be ignorant, that the kings of the *Swedes* have always joyned with the Reformed, carrying their victorious arms into *Germany* in defence of the protestants without distinction. Therefore we make it our chief request, and that in a more especial manner to your Majesty, that you would solicit the Duke of *Savoy* by letters, and by interposing your intermediating authority, endeavour to avert

the horrid cruelty of this Edict, if possible, from people no less innocent than religious. For we think it superfluous to admonish your Majesty, whither these rigourous beginnings tend, and what they threaten to all the Protestants in general. But if he rather chuse to listen to his anger than to our joynt intreaties and intercessions, if there be any tye, any charity or communion of religion to be believed and worshipped, upon consultations duly first communicated to your Majesty and the chief of the Protestant princes, some other course is to be speedily taken, that such a numerous multitude of our innocent brethren may not miserably perish for want of succour and assistance. Which in regard we make no question but that it is your Majesties opinion and determination, there can be nothing in our opinion more prudently resolved, then to joyn our reputation, authority, counsels, forces, and whatever else is needful, with all the speed that may be, in pursuance of so pious a design. In the mean time we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty."

“OLIVER, Protector, &c. to the High and Mighty Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

“We make no question but that you have already bin informed of the Duke of *Savoy's* Edict, set forth against his subjects inhabiting the valleys at the feet of the *Alps*, ancient professors of the orthodox faith; by which Edict they are commanded to abandon their native habitations, stript of all their fortunes, unless within twenty days they embrace the *Roman Faith*; and with what cruelty the authority of this Edict has raged against a needy and harmless people; many being slain by the soldiers, the rest plundered and driven from their houses, together with their wives and children, to combat cold and hunger among desert mountains, and perpetual snow. These things with what commotion of mind you heard related, what a fellow-feeling of the calamities of brethren pierced your breasts, we readily conjecture from the depth of our own sorrow, which certainly is most heavy and afflictive. For being engaged together by the same type of Religion, no wonder we should be so deeply moved with the same affections upon the dreadful and undeserved sufferings of our brethren. Besides, that your conspicuous piety and charity toward

the orthodox, wherever overborn and oppressed, has bin frequently experienced in the most urging streights and calamities of the churches. For my own part, unless my thoughts deceive me, there is nothing wherein I should desire more willingly to be overcome, then in good-will and charity toward brethren of the same religion afflicted and wronged in their quiet enjoyments; as being one that would be accounted always ready to prefer the peace and safety of the churches before my particular interests. So far therefore as hitherto lay in our power, we have written to the duke of *Savoy*, even almost to supplication, beseeching him that he would admit into his breast more placid thoughts and kinder effects of his favour toward his most innocent subjects and suppliants; that he would restore the miserable to their habitations and estates, and grant 'em their pristin freedom in the exercise of their religion. Moreover, we wrote to the chiefest princes and magistrates of the *Protestants*, whom we thought most nearly concerned in these matters, that they would lend us their assistance to entreat and pacifie the duke of *Savoy* in their behalf. And we make no doubt now but you have done the same, and perhaps much more. For this so dangerous a president, and lately renewed severity of utmost cruelty toward the Reformed, if the authors of it meet

with prosperous success, to what apparent dangers it reduces our religion, we need not admonish your prudence. On the other side, if the duke shall once but permit himself to be attoned and won by our united applications, not onely our afflicted brethren, but we ourselves shall reap the noble and abounding harvest and reward of this laborious undertaking. But if he still persist in the same obstinate resolutions of reducing to utmost extremity those people, among whom our religion was either disseminated by the first doctors of the gospel, and preserved from the defilement of Superstition, or else restored to its pristin sincerity long before other nations obtained that felicity; and determines their utter extirpation and destruction; we are ready to take such other course and counsels with yourselves, in common with the rest of our Reformed friends and confederates, as may be most necessary for the preservation of just and good men upon the brink of inevitable ruin, and to make the duke himself sensible, that we can no longer neglect the heavy oppressions and calamities of our orthodox brethren. Farewel."

"To the Evangelick Cities of SWITZERLAND.

"We make no question but the late calamity of the *Piemontois*, professing our religion, reached your ears, before the unwelcome news of it arrived with us. Who being a people under the protection and jurisdiction of the Duke of *Savoy*, and by a severe Edict of their prince commanded to depart their native habitations, unless within three days they gave security to embrace the *Roman* Religion, soon after were assailed by armed violence, that turned their dwellings into slaughter-houses, while others, without number, were terrified into banishment, where now naked and afflicted, without house or home, or any covering from the weather, and ready to perish through hunger and cold, they miserably wander thorough desert mountains, and depths of snow, together with their wives and children. And far less reason have we to doubt, but that, so soon as they came to your knowledge, you laid these things to heart, with a compassion no less sensible of their multiplied miseries, than ourselves; the more deeply imprinted perhaps in your minds, as being next neighbours to the sufferers. Besides, that we have abundant proof of your singular love and affection for the orthodox faith, of your constancy in

retaining it, and your fortitude in defending it. Seeing then, by the most strict communion of Religion, that you, together with ourselves, are all brethren alike, or rather one body with those unfortunate people, of which no member can be afflicted without the feeling, without pain, without the detriment and hazard of the rest; we thought it convenient to write to your Lordships concerning this matter, and let you understand, how much we believe it to be the general interest of us all, as much as in us lies, with our common aid and succour, to relieve our extirminated and indigent brethren; and not only to take care for removing their miseries and afflictions, but also to provide, that the mischief spread no farther, nor inroach upon ourselves in general, encouraged by example and success. We have written letters to the Duke of *Savoy*, wherein we have most earnestly besought him out of his wonted clemency, to deal more gently and mildly with his most faithful subjects, and to restore them, almost ruined as they are, to their goods and habitations. And we are in hopes, that by these our intreaties, or rather by the united intercessions of us all, the most Serene Prince at length will be atoned, and grant what we have requested with so much importunity. But if his mind be obstinately bent to other determinations, we are ready to communicate our consultations with

yours, by what most prevalent means to relieve and re-establish most innocent men, and our most dearly beloved brethren in Christ, tormented and overlaid with so many wrongs and oppressions: and preserve 'em from inevitable and undeserved ruin. Of whose welfare and safety, as I am assured, that you according to your wonted piety, are most cordially tender, so, for our own parts, we cannot but in our opinion prefer their preservation before our most important Interests, even the safeguard of our own life. Farewel.

O. P.

*"Superscribed, To the most illustrious and potent Lords,
the Consuls and Senators of the Protestant Cantons
and Confederate Cities of SWITZERLAND, greeting*

" Westminster, May 19, 1655."

*"To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS,
King of FRANCE.*

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING,

"By your Majesty's letters which you wrote in answer to ours of the 25th of May, we readily understand, that we failed not in our judgment, that the inhuman Slaughter and bar-

barous massacres of those men, who profess the Reformed Religion in *Savoy*, perpetrated by some of your regiments, were the effects neither of your orders nor commands. And it afforded us a singular occasion of joy, to hear that your Majesty had so timely signified to your collonels and officers, whose violent precipitancy engaged 'em in those inhuman butcheries without the encouragement of lawful allowance, how displeasing they were to your Majesty; that you had admonished the Duke himself to forbear such acts of cruelty; and that you had interposed with so much fidelity and humanity, all the high veneration paid you in that court, your near alliance and authority, for restoring to their ancient abodes those unfortunate exiles. And it was our hopes, that that Prince would in some measure have condescended to the good pleasure and intercession of your Majesty. But finding not any thing obtained either by your own, nor the intreaties and importunities of other Princes in the cause of the distressed, we deemed it not foreign from our duty, to send this noble person, under the character of our extraordinary envoy, to the *Duke of Savoy*, more amply and fully to lay before him, how deeply sensible we are of such exasperated cruelties inflicted upon the professors of the same Religion with ourselves, and all this too out of a hatred of the same worship. And we

have reason to hope a success of this negotiation so much the more prosperous, if your Majesty would vouchsafe to employ your authority and assistance once again with so much the more urgent importunity; and as you have undertaken for those indigent people that they will be faithful and obedient to their Prince, so you would be graciously pleased to take care of their welfare and safety, that no farther oppressions of this nature, no more such dismal calamities may be the portion of the innocent and peaceful. This being truly loyal and just in itself, and highly agreeable to your benignity and clemency, which every where protects in soft security so many of your subjects professing the same Religion, we cannot but expect, as it behoves us, from your Majesty. Which act of yours, as it will more closely bind to your subjection all the *Protestants* throughout your spacious dominions, *whose affection and fidelity to your predecessors and yourself in most important distresses have been often conspicuously made known*; so will it fully convince all foreign Princes, that the advice or intention of your Majesty were no way contributory to this prodigious violence, whatever inflamed your ministers and officers to promote it. More especially, if your Majesty shall inflict deserved punishment upon those captains and ministers, who of their own authority, and to

gratifie their own wills, adventured the perpetrating such dreadful acts of inhumanity. In the mean while, since your Majesty has assured us of your justly merited aversion to these most inhuman and cruel proceedings, we doubt not but you will afford a secure sanctuary and shelter within your kingdom to all those miserable exiles that shall flye to your Majesty for protection; and that you will not give permission to any of your subjects to assist the Duke of *Savoy* to their prejudice. It remains that we make known to your Majesty, how highly we esteem and value your friendship: in testimony of which, we farther affirm there shall never be wanting upon all occasions the real assurances and effects of our protestation.

“Your Majesty’s most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

“*Whitehall, July 29, 1655.*”

“To the most eminent Lord, Cardinal MAZARINE.

“MOST EMINENT LORD CARDINAL,

“Having deemed it necessary to send this noble person to the king with letters, a copy of which is here enclosed, we gave him also far-

ther in charge to salute your excellency in our name, as having entrusted to his fidelity certain other matters to be communicated to your eminency. In reference to which affairs, I entreat your eminency, to give him entire credit, as being a person in whom I have reposed a more than ordinary confidence.

“Your eminencies most affectionate OLIVER, Protector
of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND.

“*Whitehall, July 29, 1655.*”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, to the most Serene Prince, FREDERICK III. King of DANEMARK, NORWAY,
&c.

“With what a severe and unmerciful
Edict, IMMANUEL, Duke of SAVOY, has expelled
from their native seats his subjects inhabiting the
valleys of Piemont, men otherwise harmless, one-
ly for many years remarkably famous for em-
bracing the purity of religion; and after a dread-
ful slaughter of some numbers, how he has ex-
posed the rest to the hardships of those desert
mountains, stript to their skins, and barred from

all relief, we believe your Majesty has long since heard, and doubt not but that your Majesty is touched with a real commiseration of their sufferings, as becomes so puissant a defender and prince of the Reformed Faith. For indeed, the institutions of the Christian religion require, that whatever mischiefs and miseries any part of us undergo, it should behove us all to be deeply sensible of the same: nor does any man better than your Majesty foresee, if we may be thought able to give a right conjecture of your piety and prudence, what dangers the success and example of this fact portend to ourselves in particular, and to the whole Protestant name in general. We have written the more willingly to yourself, to the end we might assure your Majesty, that the same sorrow which we hope you have conceived for the calamity of our most innocent brethren, the same opinion, the same judgment you have of the whole matter, is plainly and sincerely our own. We have therefore sent our letters to the Duke of SAVOY, wherein we have most importunately besought him to spare those miserable people that implore his mercy, and that he would no longer suffer that dreadful Edict to be in force. Which if your Majesty and the rest of the Reformed Princes would vouchsafe to do, as we are apt to believe they have already done, there is some hope that the anger of the most Serene

Duke may be asswaged, and that his indignation will relent upon the intercession and importunities of his neighbour princes. Or if he persist in his determinations, we protest ourselves ready, together with your Majesty, and the rest of our confederates of the Reformed Religion, to take such speedy methods as may enable us, as far as in us lies, to relieve the distresses of so many miserable creatures, and provide for their liberty and safety. In the mean time, we beseech Almighty God to bless your Majesty with all prosperity.

“ Your Majesty’s good friend, OLIVER, P.

“ Given at our Palace at Westminster, this 25th of May, in the year of our Lord 1655.”

“ OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Noble the Consuls and Senators of the City of GENEVA.

“ We have before made known to your Lordships our excessive sorrow for the heavy and unheard-of calamities of the Protestants inhabiting the Valleys of *Piemont*, whom the Duke of *Savoy* persecutes with so much cruelty, but that

we made it our business that you should at the same time understand, that we are not only affected with the multitude of their sufferings, but are using the utmost of our endeavours to relieve and comfort 'em in their distresses. To that purpose we have taken care for a gathering of alms to be made throughout this whole Republick; which upon good grounds we expect will be such, as will demonstrate the affection of this nation toward their brethren labouring under the burthen of such horrid inhumanities; and that as the communion of religion is the same between both people, so the sense of their calamities is no less the same. In the mean time, while the collections of the money go forward, which in regard they will require some time to accomplish, and for that the wants and necessities of those deplorable people will admit of no delay, we thought it requisite to remit beforehand two thousand pounds of the value of *England*, with all possible speed to be distributed among such as shall be judged to be most in present need of comfort and succour. Now in regard we are not ignorant how deeply the miseries and wrongs of those most innocent people have affected yourselves, and that you will not think amiss of any labour or pains where you can be assisting to their relief, we made no scruple to commit the paying and distributing this sum of money to your care; and

to give ye this farther trouble, that according to your wonted piety and prudence, you would take care that the said money may be distributed equally to the most necessitous, to the end, that though the sum be small, yet there may be something to refresh and revive the most poor and needy, till we can afford 'em a more plentiful supply. And thus, not making any doubt but you will take in good part the trouble imposed upon ye, we beseech Almighty God to stir up the hearts of all his people professing the orthodox religion, to resolve upon the common defence of themselves, and the mutual assistance of each other against their imbittered and most implacable enemies: in the prosecution of which we should rejoyce that our helping hand might be any way serviceable to the church. Farewel.

"Fifteen hundred pounds of the foresaid two thousand will be remitted by GERARD HENCH from PARIS, and the other five hundred pounds will be taken care of by letters from the LORD STOUP.

"June 8, 1655."

"To the Evangelic Cities of SWITZERLAND.

"In what condition your affairs are, which is not the best, we are abundantly inform-

ed, as well by your public acts transmitted to us by our agent at *Geneva*, as also by your letters from *Zurick*, bearing date the 27th of *December*. Whereby, although we are sorry to find your peace, and such a lasting league of confederacy broken; nevertheless, since it appears to have happened through no fault of yours, we are in hopes that the iniquity and perverseness of your adversaries are contriving new occasions for ye to make known your long-ago experienced fortitude and resolution in defence of the *Evangelick* faith. For as for those of the Canton of *Schwits*, who account it a capital crime for any person to embrace our religion, what they are might and main designing, and whose instigations have incensed 'em to resolutions of hostility against the orthodox religion, nobody can be ignorant, who has not yet forgot that most detestable slaughter of our brethren in *Piemont*. Wherefore, most beloved friends, what you were always wont to be, with God's assistance still continue, magnanimous and resolute; suffer not your privileges, your confederacies, the liberty of your consciences, your religion itself, to be trampled under foot by the worshippers of idols; and so prepare yourselves, that you may not seem to be the defenders onely of your own freedom and safety, but be ready likewise to aid and succour, as far as in you lies, your neighbouring brethren, more especially those

most deplorable *Piedmontois*; as being certainly convinced of this, that a passage was lately intended to have bin opened over their slaughtered bodies to your sides. As for our part, be assured, that we are no less anxious and solicitous for your welfare and prosperity, than if this conflagration had broken forth in our Republick; or as if the axes of the *Schwits-Cantons* had bin sharpened for our necks, or that their swords had bin drawn against our breasts, as indeed they were against the bosoms of all the Reformed. Therefore, so soon as we were informed of the condition of your affairs, and the obstinate animosities of your enemies, advising with some sincere and honest persons, together with some ministers of the church most eminent for their piety, about sending to your assistance such succour as the present posture of our affairs would permit, we came to those results, which our envoy PELL will impart to your consideration. In the mean time, we cease not to implore the blessing of the Almighty upon all your counsels, and the protection of your most just cause as well in war as in peace.

“ Your Lordships and Worships most affectionate,
OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

“ *Westminster, Jan. 1655.*”

“ OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. to the most Serene Prince CHARLES GUSTAVUS, by the Grace of God King of the SWEDES, GOTHS, and VANDALS, Great Prince of FINLAND, &c.

“ MOST SERENE KING,

“ Seeing it is a thing well known to all men, that there ought to be a communication of concerns among friends, whether in prosperity or adversity; it cannot be but most grateful to us, that your Majesty should vouchsafe to impart unto us by your letters the most pleasing and delightful part of your friendship, which is your joy. In regard it is a mark of singular civility, and truly royal, as not to live onely to a man’s self, so neither to rejoyce alone, unless he be sensible that his friends and confederates partake of his gladness. Certainly then, we have reason to rejoyce for the birth of a young prince born to such an excellent king, and sent into the world to be the heir of his father’s glory and Vertue; and this at such a lucky season, that we have no less cause to congratulate the royal parent with the memorable omen that befel the famous *Philip of Macedon*, who at the same time received the

tydings of *Alexander's* birth, and the conquest of the *Illyrians*. For we make no question, but the wresting of the kingdom of *Poland* from Papal subjection, as it were a horn dismembered from the head of the Beast, and the peace so much desired by all good men, concluded with the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, will be most highly conducing to the tranquillity and advantage of the church. Heaven grant a conclusion correspondent to such signal beginnings; and may the son be like the father in vertue, piety, and renown, obtained by great atchievements. Which is that we wish may luckily come to pass, and which we beg of the Almighty, so propitious hitherto to your affairs.

“Your Majesty's most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector
of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

“*Westminster, February, 1655.*”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, &c. to the most High and Mighty
Lords, the States of the UNITED PROVINCES.

“MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY LORDS, OUR DEAR
FRIENDS AND CONFEDERATES,

“We make no doubt, but that all men
will bear us this testimony, That no considera-

tions, in contracting foreign alliances, ever swayed us beyond those of defending the truths of religion, or that we accounted any thing more sacred, than to unite the minds of all the friends and protectors of the *Protestants*, and of all others, who at least were not their enemies. Whence it comes to pass, that we are touched with so much the more grief of mind, to hear that the Protestant princes and cities, whom it so much behoves to live in friendship and concord together, should begin to be so jealous of each other, and so ill disposed to mutual affection; more especially, that your lordships and the king of *Sweden*, then whom the orthodox faith has not more magnanimous and couragious defenders, nor our republick confederates more strictly conjoined in interests, should seem to remit of your confidence in each other; or rather, that there should appearsome too signs of tottering friendship and growing discord between ye. What the causes are, and what progress this alienation of your affection has made, we protest ourselves to be altogether ignorant. However, we cannot but conceive an extraordinary trouble of mind for these beginnings of the least dissention arisen among brethren, which infallibly must greatly endanger the Protestant interests. Which if they should gather strength, how prejudicial it would prove to the Protestant churches, what an occa-

sion of triumph it would afford our enemies, and more especially the *Spaniards*, cannot be unknown to your prudence, and most industrious experience of affairs. As for the *Spaniards*, it has already so enlivened their confidence, and raised their courage, that they made no scruple by their ambassador residing in your territories, boldly to obtrude their counsels upon your lordships, and that in reference to the highest concerns of your republick; presuming partly with threats of renewing the war, to terrifie, and partly with a false prospect of advantage, to solicit your lordships to forsake your ancient and most faithful friends the *English*, *French*, and *Danes*, and enter into a strict confederacy with your old enemy, and once your domineering tyrant, now seemingly attoned, but what is most to be feared, only at present treacherously fawning to advance his own designs. Certainly he, who of an inveterate enemy, lays hold of so slight an occasion of a sudden to become your counsellor, what is it that he would not take upon him? Where would his insolency stop, if once he could but see with his eyes, what now he onely ruminates and labours in his thoughts; that is to say, division and a civil war among the Protestants? We are not ignorant, that your lordships, out of your deep wisdom, frequently revolve in your minds what the posture of all *Europe* is, and what more

especially the condition of the Protestants: that the cantons of *Switzerland* adhering to the orthodox faith, are in daily expectation of new troubles to be raised by their countreymen embracing the popish ceremonies; scarcely recovered from that war which for the sake of religion was kindled and blown up by the *Spaniards*, who supplied their enemies both with commanders and money: that the councils of the *Spaniards* are still contriving to continue the slaughter and destruction of the *Piemontois*, which was cruelly put in execution the last year: that the Protestants under the jurisdiction of the emperor are most grievously harassed, having much ado to keep possession of their native homes: that the king of *Sweden*, whom God, as we hope, has raised up to be a most stout defender of the orthodox faith, is at present waging with all the force of his kingdom a doubtful and bloody war with the most potent enemies of the reformed religion: that your own provinces are threatened with hostile confederacies of the princes your neighbours, headed by the *Spaniards*; and lastly, that we ourselves are busied in a war proclaimed against the king of *Spain*. In this posture of affairs, if any contest should happen between your lordships and the king of *Sweden*, how miserable would be the condition of all the reformed churches over all *Europe*, exposed to

the cruelty and fury of unsanctified enemies. These cares not slightly seize us ; and we hope your sentiments to be the same ; and that out of your continued zeal for the common cause of the Protestants, and to the end the present peace between brethren professing the same faith, the same hope of eternity, may be preserved inviolable, your lordships will accommodate your counsels to these considerations, which are to be preferred before all others ; and that you will leave nothing neglected that may conduce to the establishing tranquillity and union between your lordships and the king of *Sweden*. Wherein if we can any way be useful, as far as our authority, and the favour you bear us will sway with your lordships, we freely offer our utmost assistance, prepared in like manner to be no less serviceable to the king of *Sweden*, to whom we design a speedy embassie, to the end we may declare our sentiments at large concerning these matters. We hope, moreover, that God will bend your minds on both sides to moderate counsels, and so restrain your animosities, that no provocation may be given either by the one or the other, to fester your differences to extremity : but that on the other side both parties will remove whatever may give offence, or occasion of jealousy to the other. Which if you shall vouchsafe to do, you will disappoint your enemies, prove the consola-

tion of your friends, and in the best manner provide for the welfare of your republick. And this we beseech you to be fully convinced of, that we shall use our utmost care to make appear, upon all occasions, our extraordinary affection and good-will to the states of the *United Provinces*. And so we most earnestly implore the Almighty God to perpetuate his blessings of peace, wealth, and liberty upon your republick, but above all things to preserve it always flourishing in the love of the christian faith, and the true worship of his name.

“Your high and mightinesses most affectionate, OLIVER,
Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

“From our Palace at Westminster, August, 1656.”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, &c. to the most Serene Prince
CHARLES GUSTAVUS, king of the SWEDES,
GOTHS, and VANDALS, &c.

“MOST SERENE KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND
AND CONFEDERATE,

“Being assured of your Majesty’s concurrence both in thoughts and counsels, for the defence of the Protestant faith against the ene-

mies of it, if ever, now at this time, most dangerously vexatious, though we cannot but rejoyce at your prosperous successes, and the daily tidings of your victories, yet on the other side we cannot but be as deeply afflicted to meet with one thing that disturbs and interrupts our joy ; we mean, the bad news, intermixed with so many welcome tydings, that the ancient friendship between your majesty, and the *States of the United Provinces*, looks with a dubious aspect, and that the mischief is exasperated to that heighth, especially in the *Baltick Sea*, as seems to bode an unhappy rupture. We confess ourselves ignorant of the causes ; but we too easily foresee that the events, which God avert, will be fatal to the interests of the Protestants. And therefore, as well in respect to that most strict alliance between us and your Majesty, as out of that affection and love to the reformed religion, by which we all of us ought chiefly to be swai'd, we thought it our duty, as we have most earnestly exhorted the States of the *United Provinces* to peace and moderation, so now to perswade your Majesty to the same. The Protestants have enemies every where enow and to spare, inflamed with inexorable revenge ; they never were known to have conspired more perniciously to our destruction, witness the valleys of *Piemont*, still reaking with the blood and slaughter of the mi-

serable; witness *Austria*, lately turmoiled with the emperor's Edicts and proscriptions; witness *Switzerland*; but to what purpose is it in many words to call back the bitter lamentations and remembrance of so many calamities? Who so ignorant, as not to know that the counsels of the *Spaniards*, and the *Roman Pontiff*, for these two years have filled all these places with conflagrations, slaughter, and vexation of the *orthodox*. If to these mischiefs there should happen an access of dissention among Protestant brethren, more especially between two potent states, upon whose courage, wealth, and fortitude, so far as human strength may be relied upon, the support and hopes of all the reformed churches depend, of necessity the Protestant religion must be in great jeopardy, if not upon the brink of destruction. On the other side, if the whole Protestant name would but observe perpetual peace among themselves with that same brotherly union as becomes their profession, there would be no occasion to fear what all the artifices or puissance of our enemies could do to hurt us, which our fraternal concord and harmony alone would easily repel and frustrate. And therefore we most earnestly request and beseech your majesty to harbour in your mind propitious thoughts of peace, and inclinations ready bent to repair the breaches of your pristin friendship with the *United Pro-*

vinces, if in any part it may have accidentally suffered the decays of mistakes or misconstruction. If there be any thing wherein our labour, our fidelity and diligence may be useful toward this composure, we offer and devote all to your service. And may the God of Heaven favour and prosper your noble and pious resolutions, which together with all felicity, and a perpetual course of victory, we cordially wish to your Majesty.

“Your Majesty’s most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

“*From our Palace at Westminster, August, 1656.*”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, FREDERICK III. king of DANEMARK, NORWAY, the VANDALS, and GOTHs; Duke of SLESWICH, HOLSATIA, STORMATIA, and DITHMARSH; Count in OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST, &c.

“MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE,

“We received your Majesty’s letters, dated the 16th of *February*, from *Copenhagen*,

by the most worthy *Simon de Pitkum*, your Majesty's agent here residing. Which when we have perused, the demonstrations of your Majesty's good-will towards us, and the importance of the matter concerning which you write, affected us to that degree, that we designed forthwith to send to your Majesty some person, who being furnished with ample instructions from us, might more at large declare to your Majesty our counsels in that affair. And though we have still the same resolutions, yet hitherto we have not been at leisure to think of a person proper to be entrusted with those commands, which the weight of the matter requires; though in a short time we hope to be more at liberty. In the meanwhile, we thought it not convenient any longer to delay the letting your Majesty understand, that the present condition of affairs in *Europe* has employed the greatest part of our care and thoughts; while for some years, to our great grief, we have beheld the Protestant princes and supream magistrates of the Reformed republicks (whom it rather behoves, as being engaged by the common tye of religion and safety, to combine and study all the ways imaginable conducing to mutual defence) more and more at weakening variance among themselves, and jealous of each other's actions and designs; putting their friends in fear, their enemies in hope, that the posture of

affairs bodes rather enmity and discord, then a firm agreement of mind to defend and assist each other. And this solicitude has fixed itself so much the deeper in our thoughts, in regard there seems to appear some sparkles of jealousy between your Majesty and the king of *Sweden* ; at least that there is not that conjunction of affections, which our love and good-will in general toward the orthodox religion so importunately requires ; your Majesty, perhaps, suspecting that the trade of your dominions will be prejudiced by the king of *Sweden* ; and on the other side, the king of *Sweden* being jealous, that by your means the war, which he now wages, is made more difficult, and that you oppose him in his contracting those alliances which he seeks. 'Tis not unknown to your Majesty, so eminent for your profound wisdom, how great the danger is that threatens the Protestant religion, should such suspicions long continue between two such potent monarchs ; more especially, which God avert, if any symptom of hostility should break forth. However it be, for our parts, as we have earnestly exhorted the king of *Sweden*, and the *States* of the *United Provinces* to peace, and moderate counsels (and are beyond expression glad to behold peace and concord renewed between them ; for that the heads of that league are transmitted to us by their lordships, the states general) so we

thought it our duty, and chiefly becoming our friendship, not to conceal from your Majesty what our sentiments are concerning these matters, (more especially being so affectionately invited so to do by your Majesty's most friendly letters ; which we look upon, and embrace, as a most singular testimony of your good-will toward us,) but to lay before your eyes, how great a necessity Divine Providence has imposed upon us all, that profess the Protestant Religion, to study peace among ourselves, and that chiefly at this time, when our most embittered enemies seem to have on every side conspired our destruction. There's no necessity of calling to remembrance the valleys of *Piemont* still besmeared with the blood and slaughter of the miserable inhabitants ; nor *Austria*, tormented at the same time with the emperor's decrees and proscriptions ; nor the impetuous onsets of the popish upon the Protestant *Switzers*. Who can be ignorant, that the artifices and machinations of the *Spaniards*, for some years last past, have filled all these places with the confused and blended havock of fire and sword ? To which unfortunate pile of miseries, if once the reformed brethren should come to add their own dissensions among themselves, and more especially two such potent monarchs, the chiefest part of our strength, and among whom so large a provision of the Protestants security

and puissance lies stored and hoarded up against times of danger, most certainly the interests of the Protestants must go to ruine, and suffer a total and irrecoverable eclipse. On the other side, if peace continue firmly fixed between two such powerful neighbours, and the rest of the orthodox princes ; if we would but make it our main study to abide in brotherly concord, there would be no cause, by God's assistance, to fear neither the force nor subtilty of our enemies ; all whose endeavours, and laborious toils, our union alone would be able to dissipate and frustrate. Nor do we question, but that your Majesty, as you are freely willing, so your willingness will be constant in contributing your utmost assistance to procure this blessed peace. To which purpose, we shall be most ready to communicate, and join our counsels with your Majesty ; professing a real and cordial friendship, and not only determined inviolably to observe the amity so auspiciously contracted between us, but as God shall enable us, to bind our present alliance with a more strict and fraternal bond. In the meantime, the same eternal God grant all things prosperous and successful to your Majesty.

“Your Majesty's most closely united by Friendship, Alliance and Good-will, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

“*From our Court at Whitehall, December, 1656.*”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and illustrious Prince and Lord, the Lord WILLIAM, Lantgrave of HESS, Prince of HEREFELDT, Count in CUTZENELLEBOGEN, Decia LIGENHAIN, WIDDA, and SCHAUNBURG, &c.

“MOST SERENE PRINCE,

“We had returned an answer to your letters, sent us now near a twelvemonth since, for which we beg your highnesses pardon, had not many, and those the most important affairs of the republick under our care, constrained us to this unwilling silence. For what letters could be more grateful to us, than those which are written from a most religious prince, descended from religious ancestors, in order to settle the peace of religion, and the harmony of the church? Which letters attribute to us the same inclinations, the same zeal to promote the peace of christendom, not only in your own, but in the opinion and judgment of almost all the christian world, and which we are most highly glad to find so universally ascribed to ourselves. And how far our endeavours have been signal formerly throughout these three kingdoms, and what we have effected by our exhortations, by our suffer-

ings, by our conduct, but chiefly by Divine assistance, the greatest part of our people both well know, and are sensible of, in a deep tranquillity of their consciences. The same peace we have wished to the churches of *Germany*, whose dissensions have been too sharp, and of too too long endurance; and by our agent *Dury*, for many years in vain endeavouring the same reconciliation, we have cordially offered whatever might conduce on our part to the same purpose. We still persevere in the same determination, and wish the same fraternal charity one among another, to those churches. But how difficult a task it is to settle peace among those sons of peace, as they give out themselves to be, to our extream grief, we more then abundantly understand. For that the reformed, and those of the *Augustan* confession, should cement together in a communion of one church, is hardly ever to be expected: 'Tis impossible by force to prohibit either from defending their opinions, whether in private disputes, or by publick writings. For force can never consist with ecclesiastical tranquillity. This only were to be wished, that they who differ, would suffer themselves to be entreated, that they would disagree more civilly and with more moderation; and notwithstanding their disputes, love one another; not embittered against each other as enemies, but as brethren, dissenting onely in

trifles, though in the fundamentals 'of faith most cordially agreeing. With inculcating and perswading these things, we shall never be wearied; beyond that, there is nothing allowed to human force or counsels: God will accomplish his own work in his own time. In the mean while, you, most Serene Prince, have left behind ye a noble testimony of your affection to the churches, an eternal monument becoming the vertue of your ancestors, and an exemplar worthy to be followed by all princes. It only then remains for us to implore the merciful and great God to crown your highness with all the prosperity in other things which you can wish for; but not to change your mind, then which you cannot have a better, since a better cannot be, nor more piously devoted to his glory.

" Westminster, March, 1656."

"OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, king of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, &c.

"MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR DEAREST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE,

"The most honourable *William Jepson*, Collonel of Horse, and a senator in our par-

liament, who will have the honour to deliver these letters to your Majesty, will make known to your Majesty, with what disturbance and grief of mind we received the news of the fatal war broke out between your Majesty and the king of *Danemark*, and how much it is our cordial and real endeavour, not to neglect any labour or duty of ours, as far as God enables us, that some speedy remedy may be applied to this growing mischief, and those calamities averted, which of necessity this war will bring upon the common cause of religion; more especially at this time, now that our adversaries unite their forces and pernicious counsels against the profession and professors of the orthodox faith. These and some other considerations of great importance to the benefit and publick interests of both nations, have induced us to send this gentleman to your Majesty under the character of our extraordinary envoy. Whom we therefore desire your Majesty kindly to receive, and to give credit to him in all things which he shall have to impart to your Majesty in our name; as being a person in whose fidelity and prudence we very much confide. We also farther request, that your Majesty will be pleased fully to assure yourself of our good-will and most undoubted zeal, as well toward your Majesty, as for the prosperity of your affairs. Of which we shall be readily prepared with all

imaginable willingness of mind to give unquestionable testimonies upon all occasions.

“Your Majesty’s Friend, and most strictly co-united
Confederate, OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth
of England, &c.

“*From our Court at Westminster, August, 1656.*”

“OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince,
FREDERICK, heir of NORWAY, Duke of SLES-
WICK, HOLSATIA, and DITMARSH, Count in
OLDENBURGH and DELMENHORST.

“MOST SERENE PRINCE, OUR DEAREST FRIEND,

“Collonel *William Jepson*, a person truly noble in his countrey, and a senator in our parlament, is sent by us, as our envoy extraordinary to the most Serene king of *Sweden*; and may it prove happy and prosperous for the common peace and interests of *Christendome*. We have given him instructions, among other things, that in his journey, after he has kissed your *Serenities* hands in our name, and declared our former good-will and constant zeal for your welfare, to request of your *Serenity* also, that being guarded with your authority, he may travel

with safety and convenience through your territories. By which kind act of civility your highness will in a greater measure oblige us to returns of answerable kindness.

"From our Court at Westminster, August, 1657."

"OLIVER, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, the Lord FREDERICK WILLIAM, Marquis of BRANDENBURGH, &c.

"MOST SERENE PRINCE, OUR MOST DEAR FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE,

"By our last letters to your highness, either already or shortly to be delivered by our ambassador *William Jepson*, we have imparted the substance of our embassy to your highness ; which we could not do without some mention of your great vertues, and demonstration of our own good will and affection. Nevertheless, that we may not seem too superficially to have glided over your transcending deservings of the Protestant interests, we thought it proper to resume the same subject, and pay our respect and veneration, not more willingly, or with a greater fervency of mind, but somewhat more at large, to

your highness. And truly most deservedly, when daily information reaches our eyes, that your faith and conscience, by all manner of artifices tempted and assailed, by all manner of arts and devices solicited, yet cannot be shaken, or by any violence be rent from your friendship and alliance with a most magnanimous Prince and your Confederate: and this, when the affairs of the *Swedes* are now reduced to that condition, that in adhering to their alliance, 'tis manifest that your highness rather consults the common cause of the Reformed religion, then your own advantage. And when your highness is almost surrounded and besieged by enemies, either privately lurking, or almost at your gates; yet such is your constancy and resolution of mind, such your conduct and prowess becoming a great general, that the burthen and massy bulk of the whole affair, and the event of this important war, seems to rest and depend upon your sole determination. Wherefore your highness has no reason to question but that you may rely upon our friendship and unfeigned affection; who should think ourselves worthy to be forsaken of all men's good word, should we seem careless in the least of your unblemished fidelity, your constancy, and the rest of your applauded vertues, or should we pay less respect to your highness upon the common score of religion. As to those matters pro-

pounded by the most accomplished *John Frederic Schlever*, your counsellor and agent here residing, if hitherto we could not return an answer, such as we desired to do, though with all assiduity and diligence laboured by your agent; we intreat your highness to impute it to the present condition of our affairs, and to be assured, that there is nothing which we account more sacred, or more earnestly desire, then to be serviceable and assisting to your interests, so bound up with the cause of religion. In the mean time we beseech the God of mercy and power, that so signal a prowess and fortitude may never languish or be oppressed, nor be deprived the fruit and due applause of all your pious undertakings.

“Your Highness’s most affectionate, OLIVER, Protector
of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c.

“*From our Court at Westminster, September, 1657.*”

“To the most Serene and Potent Prince, LEWIS,
king of FRANCE.

“MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, AND MOST
AUGUST FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE.

“Your Majesty may call to mind, that
at the same time, when the renewing the league

between us was in agitation, and no less auspiciously concluded, as the many advantages from thence accrewing to both nations, and the many annoyances thence attending the common enemy, sufficiently testify, those dreadful butcheries befel the *Piemontois*, and that we recommended with great fervency of mind and compassion, their cause on all sides forsaken and afflicted, to your commiseration and Protection. Nor do we believe, that your Majesty, of yourself, was wanting in a duty so pious, that we may not say, beseeching common humanity, as far as your authority, and the veneration due to your person, could prevail with the duke of *Savoy*. Certain we are, that neither ourselves, nor many other princes and cities were wanting in our performances, by the interposition of embassies, letters, and intreaties. After a most bloody butchery of both sexes, and all ages, at length peace was granted, or rather a certain clandestine hostility covered over with the name of peace. The conditions of peace were agreed in your town of *Pignerol*; severe and hard; but such, as those miserable and indigent creatures, after they had suffered all that could be endured that was oppressive and barbarous, would have been glad of, had they been but observed, as hard and unjust as they were. But by false constructions, and various evasions, the assurances of all these arti-

cles are eluded and violated : many are thrust out from their ancient abodes ; many are forbid the exercise of their religion ; new tributes are exacted ; a new citadel is imposed upon them ; from whence the soldiers frequently making excursions, either plunder or murder all they meet. Add to all this, that new levies are privately preparing against them ; and all that embrace the *Protestant Religion* are commanded to depart by a prefixed day ; so that all things seem to threaten the utter extirmination of those deplorable wretches, whom the former massaker spared. Which I most earnestly beseech and conjure ye, *most christian King*, by *that RIGHT HAND*, which signed the league and friendship between us, by *that same goodly ornament of your title of MOST CHRISTIAN*, by no means to suffer ; nor to permit such liberty of rage and fury uncontrouled, we will not say, in any prince, (for certainly such barbarous severity could never enter the breast of any prince, much less so tender in years, nor into the female thoughts of his mother,) but in those sanctified cut-throats, who professing themselves to be the servants and disciples of our Saviour Christ, who came into this world to save sinners, abuse his meek and peaceful name and precepts to the most cruel slaughter of the innocent. Rescue you that are able, in your towring station worthy to be able, rescue so

many suppliants prostrate at your feet, from the hands of ruffians, who lately drunk with blood, again thirst after it, and think it their safest way to throw the odium of their cruelty upon princes. But as for you, great prince, suffer not, while you reign, your titles, nor the confines of your kingdom, to be contaminated with this same heaven-offending scandal, nor the peaceful gospel of Christ to be defiled with such abominable cruelty. Remember that they submitted themselves to your grandfather *Henry*, most friendly to the Protestants, when the victorious *Lesdiguières* pursued the retreating *Savoyard* o're the *Alpes*. There is also an instrument of that submission registered among the publick acts of your kingdom, wherein it is excepted and provided among other things: That from that time forward the *Piemontois* should not be delivered over into the power of any ruler, but upon the same conditions upon which your invincible grandfather received them into his protection. This protection of your grandfather, these suppliants now implore from you as grandchild. 'Tis your Majesty's part, to whom those people now belong, to give 'em that protection which they have chosen, by some exchange of habitation, if they desire it, and it may be done: or if that be a labour too difficult, at least to succour 'em with your patronage, your commiseration,

and your admittance into sanctuary. And there are some reasons of state to encourage your Majesty not to refuse the *Piemontois* a safe *asylum* in your kingdom : but I am unwilling that you, so great king, should be induced to the defence and succour of the miserable by any other arguments than those of your ancestor's pledged faith, your own piety, royal benignity and magnanimity. Thus the immaculate and intire glory of a most egregious act will be your own, and you will find the Father of Mercy, and his Son, *King Christ*, whose name and doctrine you have vindicated from nefarious inhumanity, so much the more favourable and propitious to your Majesty, all your days. The God of mercy and power infuse into your Majesty's heart a resolution to defend and save so many innocent Christians, and maintain your own honour.

" *Westminster, May, 1658.*"

" To the Evangelick Cities of the SWITZERS.

" ILLUSTRIOUS AND MOST NOBLE LORDS, OUR
DEAREST FRIENDS,

" How heavy and intolerable the sufferings of the *Piemontois*, your most afflicted neighbours, have bin, and how unmercifully they

have been dealt with by their own prince, for the sake of their religion, by reason of the felness of the cruelties, we almost tremble to remember, and thought it superfluous to put you in mind of those things, which are much better known to your Lordships. We have also seen copies of the letters, which your ambassadors, promoters and witnesses of the peace, concluded at *Pignerol*, wrote to the duke of *Savoy*, and the president of his council at *Turin*; wherein they set forth, and make it out, that all the conditions of the said peace are broken, and were rather a snare than a security to those miserable people. Which violation continued from the conclusion of the peace to this very moment, and still growing more heavy every day then other: unless they patiently endure, unless they lay themselves down to be trampled under foot, plashed like mortar, or abjure their religion, the same calamities, the same slaughters, hang over their heads, which three years since, made such a dreadful havock of them, their wives and children; and which, if it must be undergone once more, will certainly prove the utter extirpation of their whole race. What shall such miserable creatures do? In whose behalf no intercession will avail, to whom no breathing time is allowed, nor any certain place of refuge. They have to do with wild beasts, or furies rather, upon whom the re-

membrance of their former murders has wrought no compassion upon their countrymen, no sense of humanity, nor satiated their ravenous hunger after blood. Most certainly these things are not to be endured, if we desire the safety of our brethren the *Piemontois*, most ancient professors of the orthodox faith, or the welfare of our religion itself. As for ourselves, so far remote, we have not been wanting to assist 'em as far as in us lay, nor shall we cease our future aid. But you, who not only lie so near adjoining, as to behold the butcheries, and hear the outcries and shrieks of the distressed, but are also next exposed to the fury of the same enemies; consider for the sake of the immortal God, and that in time, what it behoves ye now to do: consult your prudence, your piety, and your fortitude, what succour, what relief and safeguard you are able, and are bound to afford your neighbours and brethren, who must else undoubtedly and speedily perish. Certainly the same religion is the cause, why the same enemies seek also your perdition; why, at the same time the last year, they meditated your ruin, by intestine broiles among yourselves. It seems to be only in your power, next under God, to prevent the extirpation of this most ancient *Scien* of the purer religion, in these remainders of the primitive believers; whose preservation, now reduced to the

very brink of utter ruin, if you neglect, beware that the next turn be not your own. These admonitions, while we give ye freely, and out of brotherly love, we are not quite as yet cast down: for what lies only in our power so far distant, as we have hitherto, so shall we still employ our utmost endeavours, not only to procure the safety of our brethren upon the precipice of danger, but also to relieve their wants. May the Almighty God vouchsafe to both of us that peace and tranquillity at home, that settlement of times and affairs, that we may be able to employ all our wealth and force, all our studies and counsels in the defence of his church against the rage and fury of her enemies.

"From our Court at Whitehall, May, 1658."

"To his Eminency Cardinal MAZARIN.

"MOST EMINENT LORD,

"The late most grievous cruelties, and most bloody slaughters perpetrated upon the inhabitants of the valleys of *Piemont*, within the duke of *Savoy's* dominions, occasioned the writing of the inclosed letters to his Majesty, and these other to your *Eminency*. And as we make no

doubt but that such tyranny, inhumanities, so rigorously inflicted upon harmless and indigent people, are highly displeasing and offensive to the most Serene King; so we readily persuade ourselves, that what we request from his Majesty in behalf of those unfortunate creatures, your Eminency will employ your endeavour, and your favour to obtain, as an accumulation to our intercessions. Seeing there is nothing which has acquired more good-will and affection to the *French* nation, among all the neighbouring professors of the reformed religion, then that liberty and those privileges, which by publick acts and Edicts are granted in that kingdom to the Protestants. And this among others was one main reason, why this republick so ardently desired the friendship and alliance of the *French* people. For the settling of which we are now treating with the King's ambassador, and have made those progresses, that the treaty is almost brought to a conclusion. Besides that, your Eminency's singular benignity and moderation, which in the management of the most important affairs of the kingdom, you have always testified to the Protestants of *France*, encourages us to expect what we promise to ourselves from your prudenee and generosity; whereby you will not only lay the foundations of a stricter alliance between this republick and the kingdom of *France*, but

oblige us in particular to returns of all good offices of civility and kindness: and of this we desire your eminency to rest assured.

“Your Eminency’s most Affectionate.”

“RICHARD, Protector of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, king of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, &c.

“MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR FRIEND
AND CONFEDERATE,

“We have received two letters from your Majesty, the one by your *Envoy*, the other transmitted to us from our Resident, *Philip Meadows*, whereby we not only understood your Majesties unfained grief for the death of our most Serene Father, in expressions setting forth the real thoughts of your mind, and how highly your Majesty esteemed his prowess and friendship, but also what great hopes your Majesty conceived of ourselves advanced in his room. And certainly, as an accumulation of paternal honour in deeming us worthy to succeed him, nothing more noble, more illustrious, could befall us then the judgment of such a prince;

nothing more fortunately auspicious could happen to us, at our first entrance upon the government, then such a congratulator; nothing lastly that could more vehemently incite us to take possession of our Father's vertues, as our lawful inheritance, then the encouragement of so great a king. As to what concerns your Majesties interests, already under consideration between us, in reference to the common cause of the Protestants, we would have your Majesty have those thoughts of us, that since we came to the helm of this republick, though the condition of our affairs be such at present, that they chiefly require our utmost diligence, care, and vigilancy at home, yet that we hold nothing more sacred, and that there is not any thing more determined by us, then as much as in us lyes, never to be wanting to the league concluded by our Father with your Majesty. To that end, we have taken care to send a fleet into the *Baltic Sea*, with those instructions which our agent, to that purpose empowered by us, will communicate to your Majesty; whom God preserve in long safety, and prosper with success in the defence of his orthodox religion.

"From our Court at Westminster, October 13, 1658."

“ RICHARD, Protector, to the most Serene and Potent Prince, CHARLES GUSTAVUS, king of the SWEDES, GOTHs, and VANDALS, &c.

“ MOST SERENE AND MOST POTENT KING, OUR FRIEND AND CONFEDERATE,

“ We send to your Majesty, nor could we send a present more worthy or more excellent, the truly brave and truly noble, Sir *George Ascue*, Knight, not only famed in war, and more especially for his experience in sea affairs, approved and tryed in many desperate engagements, but also endued with singular probity, modesty, ingenuity, learning, and for the sweetness of his disposition caressed by all men ; and which is the sum of all, now desirous to serve under the banners of your Majesty, so renowned o’re all the world for your military prowess. And we would have your Majesty be fully assured, that whatsoever high employment you confer upon him, wherein fidelity, fortitude experience, may shine forth in their true lusture, you cannot entrust a person more faithful, more couragious, nor easily more skilful. Moreover, as to those things we have given him in charge to communi-

cate to your Majesty, we request that he may have quick access, and favourable audience, and that you will vouchsafe the same credit to him, as to ourselves if personally present : lastly, that you will give him that honour, as you shall judge becoming a person dignified with his own merits and our recommendation. Now God Almighty prosper all your affairs with happy success, to his own glory and the safeguard of his orthodox church.

“ From our Court at Whitehall, October, 1658.”

The two following Letters, after the deposal of Richard Cromwell, were written in the name of the Parliament restored.

“The Parliament of the Commonwealth of
ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene and Po-
tent Prince, ~~CHARLES GUSTAVUS~~, King of the
~~SWEDES, GOTES, AND VANDALS~~, &c.

“MOST SERENE AND POTENT KING, OUR DEAR-
EST FRIEND,

“Since it has pleased the most merci-
ful and omnipotent God, at whose disposal only
the revolutions of all kingdoms and republicks

are, to restore us to our pristin authority, and the supream administration of the *English* affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place to make it known to your Majesty, and to signify moreover as well our extraordinary affection to your Majesty, so potent a Protestant prince, as also our most fervent zeal to promote the peace between your Majesty and the king of *Denmark*, another most powerful Protestant king, not to be reconciled without our assistance and the good offices of our affection. Our pleasure therefore is, that our extraordinary envoy, *Philip Meadows*, be continued in the same employment with your Majesty, with which he has bin hitherto entrusted from this republick. To which end, we empower him by these our letters to make proposals, act and negotiate with your Majesty, in the same manner as was granted him by his last recommendations: and whatsoever he shall transact and conclude in our name, we faithfully promise and engage, by God's assistance, to confirm and ratify. The same God long support your Majesty, the pillar and support of the Protestant interests.

“WILLIAM LENTHAL, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND.

“*Westminster, May 15, 1659.*”

“The Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND, &c. To the most Serene Prince, FREDERICK king of DENMARK.

“MOST SERENE KING AND MOST DEAR FRIEND,

“Seeing it now is come to pass, that by the will and pleasure of the most merciful and powerful God, the supream moderator of all things, we are restored to our pristin place and dignity, in the administration of the publick affairs, we thought it convenient in the first place that a revolution of this government should not be concealed from your Majesties notice, a prince both our neighbour and confederate ; and withal, to signify, how much we lay to heart your ill success : which you will easily perceive by our zeal and diligence, that never shall be wanting in us to promote and accomplish a reconciliation between your Majesty and the king of *Sweden*. And therefore we have commanded our extraordinary envoy with the most Serene King of *Sweden*, *Philip Medows*, to attend your Majesty, in our name, in order to these matters, and to impart, propound, act and negotiate such things

as we have given him in charge to communicate to your Majesty : and what credit you shall give to him in this his employment, we request your Majesty to believe it given to ourselves. God Almighty grant your Majesty a happy and joyful deliverance out of all your difficulties, and afflicting troubles under which you stand so undauntedly supported by your fortitude and magnanimity.

“ WILLIAM LENTHAL, Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of ENGLAND.

“ *Westminster, May, 15, 1659.*”

In the Advertisement “To the Reader,” prefixed to these “Letters of State,” printed in London, 1694, it is said, “To question the truth of those transactions to which these following Letters have relation, would be a solecism which ignorance itself would be ashamed to own. The dates, subscriptions, superscriptions, render every thing authentick. So that were it only for their character of truth which must be allow’d ’em, that alone is sufficient to recommend ’em to posterity; at least, to those who may be am-

bitious to be the English Thuanus's of succeeding ages, to whom the verity of these Letters will be a careful clue, so far as it reaches, to guide them through the labyrinth of forgotten history. *Honi soit qui mal y pence.*"

CHAPTER VII.

1660—1674.

THE Parliament having concluded their negotiations with Charles II. at Breda, MILTON was discharged from his office as Latin Secretary; and in order to secure himself from the probable vengeance of the restored king, he left his house in Petty France, where he had lived for more than eight years, and where he had been visited by all the foreigners of note who came to England, by several persons of rank, and by the intelligent of every persuasion and party. During that period, from 1652 to 1660, he had kept up a large correspondence with learned foreigners, especially with his admirer, LEONARDUS PHILARAS, who, on one occasion, paid him a visit at his house in Westminster.


MILTON was now obliged to secrete himself at a friend's house in St. Bartholomew's Close for some time after the Restoration. In a proclamation at this time, it is said, as may be seen in

Kennet's Chronicle, p. 189, "the said JOHN MILTON and John Goodwin, are so fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they may be brought to legal trial, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences." It is reported, that for the purpose of saving his life, some of his friends gave out that he had died, and contrived for him a sham funeral! Thus, while some of his old companions were expiating their alleged offences by the most cruel executions as *regicides*, and others by assassinations, he was secured from the fury of the raging, pitiless storm; it being thought he had become a resident of that house, "*where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest.*"*

* One of his historians says: "By this precaution he probably escaped the particular prosecution which was at first directed against him. Mr. Warton was told by Mr. Tyers, from good authority, that when MILTON was under prosecution with Goodwin, his friends, to gain time, made a mock funeral for him; and that when matters were settled in his favour, and the affair was known, the king laughed heartily at the trick." This circumstance is also related by Cunningham, in his History of Great Britain, who says, that MILTON "pretended to be dead, and had a public funeral procession, and that the king applauded his policy in escaping the punishment of death by a seasonable shew of dying."

Some idea of the danger to which, at this time, he was exposed, may be seen from the fate to which some of his *books* were condemned. His work, entitled *Eiclonoclastis*, and his *Defensio Pro Populo Anglicano*, were proscribed on the 27th of August, 1661, and several copies of them were publicly committed to the flames by the common hangman. Impotent malice! Would not the *divine right of kings and bishops* have preserved the nation, as by a charm, from the contagion of these pamphlets? But the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people has been thought epidemical ever since the times of Charles II.

The Act of Oblivion was passed on the 30th of August. In this, MILTON and JOHN GOODWIN, both of whom had written in justification of the nation, for having put Charles I. to death, were included, with the understanding they were no more to bear any government offices. There are differences of opinion as to what particular cause MILTON owed his escape from the fate to which even his noble friend Sir Harry Vane, "religious freedom's eldest son," was subjected. Toland says, "MILTON had many good friends to intercede for him, both in the Privy Council and the House of Commons; nor was Charles II. such an enemy to the Muses, as to have required his being destroyed; though some are of opinion that



he was more obliged to that prince's forgetfulness than to his clemency."*

The king's pardon having been secured, MILTON again made his appearance, being resuscitated, if not by a *natural*, yet by a *political* resurrection! Still he was not free from peril, as I find that, on some account or other, soon after this, he was in custody of the sergeant-at-arms; for on Saturday, the 15th of December, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that "MR. MILTON, now in custody of the sergeant-at-arms, *be forthwith released, on paying his fees.*" And on Monday the 17th, "a complaint being made that the sergeant-at-arms had demanded excessive fees for the *imprisonment* of Mr. MILTON, "it be referred to the committee of privileges, &c. to examine what is fit to be given to the sergeant for his fees in this case."

It is most likely that he was so much disgusted by the versatility which he had witnessed in men of all ranks, (clergy and laity having, with but few exceptions, abandoned all their avowed principles, and bowed to the rising sun,) that he now retired from public life, and never again interfered with politics. So far as appears, he strictly attended to the text of the court divine, Dr. Grif-

* It is stated by *Richardson*, p. 89, that MILTON owed his life to *Sir William D'Avenant*, who had himself been pardoned in 1650 at the intercession of MILTON.

fiths: "*My son, fear thou GOD, and the KING, and meddle not with them that are given to change!*" It must afford much pleasure to the admirers of MILTON's character, that he now exemplified, in his own conduct, the features which he has drawn of *Abdiel*, "the fervent angel:"—

"Faithful found among the faithless;
Nor numbers, nor example, with him wrought
To swerve from truth——

For this was all thy care, to stand approv'd
In sight of God, though worlds judg'd thee perverse."

He soon after again entered into the marriage state, with ELIZABETH, daughter of *Mr. Minshal*, of Cheshire; who was recommended to him by his distinguished friend, Dr. Paget. His family now consisted of his wife, and three daughters by his first wife: two of these he had taught to read and pronounce, with great exactness, the *English, Italian, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin* languages. There was no book therefore in those languages, that he wished to use, but what either of them could read to him, though they did not understand any but their mother tongue. It is said, his daughters complained of this employment as drudgery, and that when he was made acquainted with it, he instantly dispensed with their assistance, and pro-

cured for them the knowledge of some useful trades suited to their sex and taste.

This is the proper place to introduce the account given by Thomas Ellwood, the Quaker, of his becoming acquainted with MILTON. This plain but learned man says: "JOHN MILTON, a gentleman of great note for learning, throughout the learned world, for the accurate pieces he had written on various subjects and occasions. This person having filled a public station in former times, lived now a private and retired life in London; and having wholly lost his sight, kept always a man to read to him, which usually was the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom in kindness he took to improve in learning. Thus, by the mediation of my friend *Isaac Pennington* with *Dr. Paget*, and of *Dr. Paget* with JOHN MILTON, was I admitted to come to him; not as a servant to him, (which at that time he needed not,) nor to be in the house with him; but only to have the liberty of coming to his house, at certain times when I would, and to read to him what books he should appoint me. Understanding that the mediation for my admittance with JOHN MILTON had succeeded so well that I might come when I would, I hastened to *London*, and in the first place went to wait upon him.

"He received me courteously, as well for the

sake of *Dr. Paget*, who introduced me, as of *Isaac Pennington*, who recommended me; to both whom he bore a good respect. And having enquired divers things of me, in respect to my former progression in learning, he dismissed me, to provide myself such accommodations as might be most suitable to my future studies. I went therefore and took myself a lodging as near to his house (which was then in *Jewen-street*) as conveniently I could; and from thenceforward went every day in the afternoon, (except on the first day of the week,) and sitting by him in his dining-room, read to him in such books in the *Latin* tongue as he pleased to hear me read.

“At my first sitting to read to him, observing that I used the *English pronunciation*, he told me, ‘If I would have the benefit of the *Latin* tongue, (not only to read and understand Latin authors, but) to converse with foreigners either abroad or at home, I must learn the foreign pronunciation.’ To this I consenting, he instructed me how to sound the vowels. Perceiving with what earnest desire I pursued learning, he gave me not only all the encouragement, but all the help he could. For, having a curious ear, he understood by my tones, when I understood what I read, and when I did not.

“Some time before I went to Alesbury prison in 1665, I was desired by my quondam master,

MILTON, to take a house for him in the neighbourhood where I dwelt, that he might get out of the city, for the safety of himself and his family, the *pestilence* then growing hot in *London*. I took a pretty Box for him in *Giles Chalfont*, a mile from me, of which I gave him notice; and intended to have waited on him, and seen him well settled in it, but was prevented by that imprisonment. But now being released, and returned home, I soon made a visit to him, to welcome him into the country.

“After some common discourses had passed between us, he called for a manuscript of his; which being brought, he delivered to me, bidding me take it home with me, and read it at my leisure; and when I had so done to return it to him, with my judgment thereupon.

“When I came home, and had set myself to read it, I found it was that excellent poem, *PARADISE LOST*. After I had, with the best attention, read it through, I made him another visit, and returned him his book, with due acknowledgment of the favour he had done me, in communicating it to me. He asked me how I liked it, and what I thought of it; which I modestly but freely told him: and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, ‘Thou hast said much here of *Paradise lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise found*?’ He made

me no answer, but sate some time in a muse, then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject.

“After the sickness was over, and the city well cleansed and become safely habitable again, he returned thither. And when afterwards I went to wait on him there, (which I seldom failed of doing whenever my occasions drew me to *London*,) he shewed me his second Poem, called *Paradise Regained*, and in a pleasant tone said to me, ‘This is owing to you ; for you put it into my head, by the question you put to me at *Chalfont* ; which before I had not thought of.’ ”*

It will be seen from the account given by Ellwood, that he had finished his incomparable poem, “*Paradise Lost*,” in 1665. It does not appear at what period he commenced writing it, but it is most likely the world is indebted for it, at least for its completion, to his having been removed from his office of Latin Secretary, or he would never have secured the requisite and uninterrupted leisure which such a composition necessarily required. It was happy for the admirers of exquisite poetry too, that he did not accept, as it is said he had an opportunity, the offer of being restored to his former station as Latin Secretary to the government.

* Ellwood’s Life, 132, 135, and 234.

It was on this occasion, when urged to accept the office by his wife, that he replied, "Ah! my dear, you are like most other females, you would like to be a lady and ride in a coach; but *my* ambition is to live and die an honest man."*

His immortal poem, "Paradise Lost," was begun, it is said, about 1655. I conjecture that the two first books only were written while he was employed as Latin Secretary. Admitting this supposition to be right, then the work was recommenced at the third chapter, after his being delivered from his state of "obscure sojourn," and with a reference to that awful obscurity into which he was plunged, as into the

* Dr. Johnson, who is always malignant towards MILTON, intimates his doubts as to the truth of this statement. It rests however upon good grounds.

Richardson says, p. 100, "My authority is Henry Bendish, Esq. a descendant by his mother's side from the Protector, *Oliver Cromwell*. Their family and MILTON's were in great intimacy before and after his death, and the thing was known among them. Mr. Bendish has heard the widow, or daughter, or both say it, that soon after the Restoration, the king offered to employ this pardoned man as his Latin Secretary, the post in which he served *Cromwell* with so much integrity and ability. (That a like offer was made to *Thurlow* has never been disputed, as ever I heard.) MILTON withstood the offer; the wife pressed his compliance: '*Thou art in the right*,' said he, '*you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and to die an honest man.*'"

“ Stygian pool.” It was published in ten books ; but it was afterwards, under his direction, arranged into twelve books. I shall not attempt any description of its unrivalled excellencies ; this has repeatedly been done by writers who were more equal to such criticisms than to which I can have any pretensions. As to the correctness of its *theological* sentiments, I speak without any hesitation ; and as to the sublimity of the sentiments, I profess myself to be lost in wonder and admiration ! The first paragraph explains fully the *cause* which enabled him to produce this almost super-human poem : “The *meek* will HE guide in judgment ; the *meek* will HE teach his way !”

“ Of man’s first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing heav’nly Muse, that on the secret top
Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
In the beginning how the Heav’ns and Earth
Rose out of Chaos : or, if Sion hill
Delight thee more, and Siloa’s brook, that flow’d
Fast by the oracle of God ; I thence
Invoke thy aid to my advent’rous song,
That with no middle flight attempts to soar
Above th’ Aonian mount, while it pursues
Things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer,
 Before all temples, th' upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for thou know'st; Thou from the first
 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread,
 Dove-like sat'st brooding on the vast abyss,
 And mad'st it pregnant: What in me is dark,
 Illumine: what is low, raise and support;
 That to the height of this great argument
 I may assert eternal Providence,
 And justify the ways of God to men."

Book i. 1—25.

The few other extracts which I make from this most extraordinary poem, will be for eliciting his religious sentiments on some important points of theology.*

* Toland says, p. 129, "I must not forget that we had like to be eternally deprived of this treasure, by the ignorance or malice of the licenser; who among other frivolous exceptions, would needs suppress the whole poem for imaginary *treason* in the following lines:—

"As when the sun new risen,
 Looks thro' the horizontal misty air,
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
 In dark eclipses disastrous twilight sheds,
 On half the nations and with fear of change,
 Perplexes monarchs."

The licenser was the Rev. Thomas Tomkyns, one of the chaplains of Archbishop Sheldon. This office, I find, had been abolished during the Protectorate, but was restored, with other corruptions, at the Restoration.

“ Hail, holy Light, offspring of Heav’n first born !
Or of th’ Eternal coeternal beam,
May I express thee unblam’d ? since God is light,
And never but in unapproached light
Dwelt from eternity, dwelt then in thee,
Bright effluence of bright essence increate !
Or hear’st thou rather, pure ethereal stream,
Whose fountain who shall tell ? before the sun,
Before the Heav’ns thou wert, and, at the voice
Of God, as with a mantle didst invest,
The rising world of waters dark and deep,
Won from the void and formless infinite.
Thee I re-visit now with bolder wing,
Escaped the *Stygian* pool, though long detain’d
In that obscure sojourn,* while in my flight
Through utter and through middle darkness borne,
With other notes than to th’ Orphean lyre,
I sung of *Chaos* and eternal night,
Taught by th’ Heav’nly Muse to venture down
The dark descent, and up to re-ascend,
Though hard and rare : thee I re-visit safe,
And feel thy sov’reign vital lamp, but thou

* *Richardson*, in his note on the line, “ In darkness and with dangers compass’d round,” says : “ This is explained by a piece of secret history, for which we have good authority. *Paradise Lost* was written after the Restoration, when *MILTON* apprehended himself to be in danger of his life, first from royal vengeance, (having been very deeply engaged against the royal party,) and when safe by pardon, from private malice and resentment. He was always in fear, much alone, and slept ill. When restless, he would ring for the person who wrote for him, (which was his daughter commonly,) to write what he composed, which would sometimes flow with great ease.”

Re-visit'st not these eyes, that roll in vain
 To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn ;
 So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs,
 Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,
 Smit with the love of sacred song ; but chief
 Thee, Sion and the flow'ry brooks beneath,
 That wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,
 Nightly I visit : nor sometimes forget
 Those other two equall'd with me in fate,
 So were I equall'd with them in renown,
 Blind *Thamyris* and blind *Mæonides*,
 And *Tiresias* and *Phineus*, prophets old :
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
 Harmonious numbers ; as the wakeful bird
 Sings darkling, and in shadiest covert hid
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year
 Seasons return, but not to me returns
 Day, or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
 Or sight of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 Or flocks or herds or human face divine ;
 But cloud instead, and ever-during dark
 Surrounds me, from the cheerful ways of men
 Cut off, and for the book of knowledge fair
 Presented with an universal blank
 Of nature's works, to me expung'd and ras'd,
 And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.
 So much the rather thou, celestial light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate ; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight."

Book iii. 1—55.

ON PROVIDENCE.

"The world was all before them, where to choose
 Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.
 They hand in hand, with wand'ring steps and slow,
 Through Eden took their solitary way."

Book xii. 646—649.

ON THE NECESSITY OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT.

Speaking of his blindness, he says,

"And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out.
 So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate; there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invisible to mortal sight."

Book iii. lines 50—55.

ON THE ORIGIN OF EVIL.

"And now,
 Through all restraint broke loose, he wings his way,
 Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
 Directly tow'rds the new created world,
 And man there plac'd, with purpose to essay
 If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
 By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert,
 For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,
 And easily transgress the sole command,
 Sole pledge of his obedience: so will fall
 He and his faithless progeny. Whose fault?
 Whose but his own? Ingrate, he had of me
 All he could have; I made him just and right,

Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall."

" They therefore as to right belong'd,
 So were created, nor can justly accuse
 Their Maker, or their making, or their fate,
 As if predestination over-rul'd
 Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree
 Of high foreknowledge ; they themselves decreed
 Their own revolt, not I : if I foreknew,
 Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
 Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
 So without least impulse or shadow of fate,
 Or ought by me immutably foreseen,
 They trespass, authors to themselves in all
 Both what they judge and what they choose ; for so
 I form'd them free, and free they must remain,
 Till they intrall themselves ; I else must change
 Their nature, and revoke the high decree
 Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
 Their freedom : they themselves ordain'd their fall.
 The first sort by their own suggestion fell,
 Self-tempted, self-deprav'd : Man falls, deceiv'd
 By th' other first ; Man therefore shall find grace,
 The other none. In mercy and justice both,
 Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glory excel,
 But mercy first and last shall brightest shine."

Book iii. lines 85—100 ; 110—134.

ON THE PROPER DIVINITY OF THE SON OF GOD.

" Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
 Most glorious ; in him all his Father shone
 Substantially express'd ; and in his face
 Divine compassion visibly appear'd,
 Love without end, and without measure grace."

Book iii. lines 138—142.

ON PERSONAL ELECTION.

“ As my eternal purpose hath decreed:
 Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,
 Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
 Freely vouchsafed.—

Some have I chosen of peculiar grace
 Elect above the rest! so is my will:
 The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd,
 Their sinful state, and to appease betimes
 Th' incensed Deity, while offer'd grace
 Invites; for I will clear their senses dark,
 What may suffice, and soften stony hearts
 To pray, repent, and bring obedience due.
 To pray'r, repentance, and obedience due,
 Though but endeavour'd with sincere intent,
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut;
 And I will place within them as a guide
 My umpire conscience, whom if they will hear,
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain,
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.
 This my long sufferance and my day of grace
 They who neglect and scorn shall never taste;
 But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more,
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.”

ON THE SUBSTITUTION OF CHRIST.

“ He with his whole posterity must die,
 Die he or justice must; unless for him
 Some other able, and as willing, pay
 The rigid satisfaction, death for death.
 Say, heav'nly Powers! where shall we find such love?”

Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
 Man's mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save?
 Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear?"

Book iii. 208—216.

"Behold me then; me for him life for life
 I offer; on me let thine anger fall;
 Account me Man; I for his sake will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
 Freely put off, and for him lastly die
 Well pleas'd: on me let Death wreak all his rage;
 Under his gloomy pow'r I shall not long
 Lie vanquish'd."

Book iii. 236—243.

ON FAITHFUL AND ARDENT ZEAL IN RELIGION.

"So spake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
 None seconded, as out of season judg'd,
 Or singular and rash; whereat rejoic'd
 The Apostate."

"So spake the seraph Abdiel, faithful found
 Among the faithless, faithful only he;
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
 Unshaken, unseduc'd, untterrify'd,
 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal:
 Nor number, nor example, with him wrought
 To swerve from truth, or change his constant mind,
 Though single."

Book v. 849—851; 896—903.

ON THE PLEASURES OF AN APPROVING CONSCIENCE.

"On to the sacred hill
 They led him high applauded, and present
 Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice,
 From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard:

“ ‘ Servant of God, well done ; well hast thou fought
 The better fight, who single hast maintain'd
 Against revolted multitudes the cause
 Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms ;
 And for the testimony of truth hast borne
 Universal reproach, far worse to bear
 Than violence ; for this was all thy care
 To stand approv'd in sight of God, though worlds
 Judg'd thee perverse.’ ”

Book vi. 25—37.

ON RATIONAL LIBERTY.

“ Let me serve,
 In Heav'n God ever blest, and his divine
 Behests obey, worthiest to be obey'd.”

Book vi. 183—185.

ON THE ENTRANCE OF SIN INTO THE WORLD.

“ So saying, her rash hand in evil hour
 Forth reaching to the fruit, she pluck'd, she eat.
 Earth felt the wound, and Nature from her seat,
 Sighing through all her works, gave signs of woe
 That all was lost.”

ON NEGRO COLONIAL SLAVERY.

“ O execrable son so to aspire
 Above his brethren, to himself assuming
 Authority usurp'd, from God not given ;
 He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
 Dominion absolute : that right we hold
 By his donation ; but man over men
 He made not lord : such title to himself
 Reserving, human left from human free.”

Book xii. 64—72.

ON BAPTISM.

"To his disciples, men who in his life
 Still follow'd him; to them shall leave in charge
 To teach all nations what of him they learn'd,
 And his salvation, them who shall believe
 Baptizing in the profuent stream, the sign
 Of washing them from guilt of sin to life
 Pure and in mind prepar'd, if so befall,
 For death,* like that which the Redeemer dy'd.
 All nations they shall teach; for from that day
 Not only to the sons of Abraham's loins
 Salvation shall be preach'd, but to the sons
 Of Abraham's faith wherever through the world;
 So in his seed all nations shall be blest.

Book xii. 438—450.

His negociation with the bookseller to publish
 this most admirable *poem*, is now considered a
 subject of astonishment! Let it, however, be re-
 collected, that the subject of *copyright* was but
 imperfectly understood, and that *literary* pro-
 perty was not, as now, so inviolably secured. In
 addition to this, MILTON's *republicanism* could
 not have been forgotten, as the anecdote of the
 learned licenser fully proves! There were many,
 doubtless, who would have thought, that to de-
 scribe "the sun new risen," and "shorn of its
 beams by misty air," must have been an *overt*
 act of treason! and who would therefore be afraid

* i. Cor. 15. "Else what shall they do which are bap-
 tized for the dead, if the dead rise not."

to purchase a book, respecting which, doubtless, it would be both said and sung, that the learned licenser had at first refused, and at last had, with great hesitation, consented to place his *imprimatur* upon a manuscript poem of poor old blind MILTON, who had written the "*Tenure of Kings*,"* &c. &c.!

His contract for the copyright of "*Paradise Lost*," with Samuel Simmons the bookseller, is dated April 27th, 1667. It was printed in that year, without the name of the purchaser as its printer; but in the next year it received a new title-page, when the name of S. Simmonds ap-

* His respectable biographer, Simmons, has recorded an anecdote which is certainly very characteristic of the parties to whom it relates, though not supported by any authority. "The Duke of York, as it is reported, expressed one day to the king his brother, a wish to see old MILTON, of whom he had heard so much. The king replied, that he felt no objection to the Duke satisfying his curiosity; and soon after James went privately to MILTON's house, where, after an introduction, which explained to the old republican the rank of his guest, a free conversation ensued between these very dissimilar and discordant characters. In the course, however, of the conversation, the Duke asked MILTON whether he did not regard the loss of his eye-sight as a judgment inflicted upon him for what he had written against the late king. MILTON's reply was to this effect: 'If your Highness thinks that the calamities which befall us here are indications of the wrath of Heaven, in what manner are we to account for the fate of the king your father? The displea-

peared in its proper place. The copyright was sold for the actual payment of five pounds, and the contingent payment, on the sale of two thousand six hundred copies, of two other equal sums. At the end of two years, thirteen hundred copies had been circulated. In five years after this period a second edition was published, and in four years after this, a third was demanded by the public. Before the end of twenty years, it had passed through twenty editions.

It is said that he produced his other poem, "Paradise Regained," in about ten months after the idea first struck his mind; which is by no means

sure of Heaven must, upon this supposition, have been much greater against him than against me; for I have lost only my eyes, but he lost his head.' Much discomposed by this answer, the Duke soon took his leave and went away. On his return to court, the first words which he spoke to the king were, 'Brother, you are greatly to blame, that you don't have that old rogue, MILTON, hanged.' 'Why, what is the matter, James?' said the king: 'you seem in a heat. What! have you seen MILTON?' 'Yes,' answered the Duke, 'I have seen him.' 'Well,' said the king, 'in what condition did you find him?' 'Condition! why, he is old, and very poor.' 'Old and poor! Well, he is blind too, is he not?' 'Yes, blind as a beetle.' 'Why, then,' observed the king, 'you are a fool, James, to have him hanged as a punishment: to hang him will be doing him a service; it will be taking him out of his miseries. No, if he be old, poor, and blind, he is miserable enough: in all conscience, let him live.'"

incredible, even when it is considered how great an inconvenience his blindness must have occasioned in regard to his being under the necessity of employing an *amanuensis*. At the same time, it must have been favourable to that mental abstraction which the study of so glorious a subject required. The serious, contemplative person, who reads attentively this strictly religious poem, will soon form an idea, from its contents, how happy and pure must have been the mind of MILTON, at the time when he wrote his "Paradise Regained." This was published in 1670.

Of this poem, in four books only, Todd says: "It is generally esteemed much inferior to *Paradise Lost*; which he could not endure to hear, being quite of another mind. This occasioned some one to say wittily enough, that MILTON might be seen in *Paradise Lost*, but not in *Paradise Regained*!" And this is the estimate still put upon the work, which, if it were surpassed by its own author, has never been equalled by any other. I suspect that its decidedly *religious* and *evangelical* character has procured for it less attention from mere critics, than it would have otherwise received: I need not mention names of persons who have written of MILTON, who, by their irreligious character, or their infidel principles, were disqualified for giving a correct opinion of the excellencies of "Paradise Re-

gained." I am not surprised to find that he was displeased when any one spoke of it "as much inferior to *Paradise Lost*."

This poem, if inferior to "*Paradise Lost*" as to sublimity and originality of conception, is certainly more than equal to it for simplicity and spirituality of statement. It is, in fact, a close exposition of the inspired account of our Lord's temptation in the wilderness, into which he had been led immediately after his baptism by John the Baptist, "in the river Jordan," to be tried by the devil, as recorded by Matthew, in the fourth chapter of his gospel. It strikes me, that the graphic descriptions which he has given of "the false glories of the world;" and of the geography of "all the kingdoms of the earth," as shown to the Messiah "from the pinnacle of the temple," displays most extensive and correct worldly knowledge, and religious sentiment. It is also much better suited to convey information as to real life, than the fanciful descriptions which he has drawn, in his "*Paradise Lost*," from the heathen mythology, or the highly-wrought poetical sketches of Hell—of the birth of Sin and Death—the Garden of Eden—and the war among the Angels in Heaven. The supposed replies given by our Saviour to the flatteries of Satan, are conceived in the highest degree of nature; and the easy conquest obtained by Him, who "though in all

points tempted as we are, was yet without sin," is drawn by the hand of a master. It is impossible for any one, to whom the Saviour "is precious," and who considers his triumph as securing the victory on behalf of his people over Satan and the world, to read this admirable work, without saying, "Thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ." If, in reading "Paradise Lost," he meets with much to produce deep and painful humiliation; he will, in reading "Paradise Regained," meet with much to excite exalted praise and thanksgiving. "For as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous."

When, in 1670, he published his "Paradise Regained," he added to it his "Sampson Agonistes;" which I conjecture, from its having no allusion to his own blindness, when that of Sampson's is so touchingly described, must have been composed before he had lost his sight. Toland calls this "an excellent tragedy, not a ridiculous mixture of gravity and farce, according to most of the modern, but after the example of the yet unequal'd antients, as they are justly called, *ÆSCHYLUS*, *SOPHOCLES*, and *EURIPIDES*." Though this was written in the dramatic form, yet, as the author expresses in the Preface, it was not designed for dramatic representation. Indeed, the correct

performance of a few such pieces as *SAMPSON AGONISTES*, would soon get rid of the large audiences which nightly flock to the theatres.

There cannot be a more concentrated and juster description of *MILTON*, considered as a poet, than in the well-known words of *Dryden* :—

“Three Poets in three distant ages born,
Greece, Italy, and England, did adorn:
 The first in loftiness of thought surpassed;
 The next in majesty; in both the last.
 The force of nature could no further go:
 To make a third, she joined the former two.”

Mention has been made of the withdrawal of *MILTON* at the time of the plague, in 1666, to the country. This probably led to the report that he had died of that disease. Some of his foreign friends, by whom he was still held in high estimation, wrote to enquire if this report were true. The following letter, the last of his familiar epistles, addressed to *Peter Heimbach*, a learned German, will show the state of his mind, deserted as he was by nearly all his ungrateful countrymen:—

“*To the most accomplished Peter Heimbach,
 Councillor of State to the Elector of Brandenburg.*”

“That in a year so pestilential and so fatal as the present, amidst the deaths of so many

of my compatriots, you should have believed me likewise, as you write me word, in consequence too of some rumour or other, to have fallen a victim, excites in me no surprise : and if that rumour owed its currency among you, as it seems to have done, to an anxiety for my welfare, I feel flattered by it, as an instance of your friendly regard. Through the providence of God, however, who had provided me with a safe retreat in the country, I still live, and am well; and would that I could add, not incompetent to any duty which it may be my future destiny to discharge.

“ But that, after so long an interval, I should have recurred to your recollection, is highly gratifying to me; though, to judge of your eloquent embellishments of the matter, when you profess your admiration of so many different virtues united in my single person, you seem to furnish some ground for suspecting I have indeed escaped from your remembrance. From such a number of unions, in fact, I should have cause to dread a progeny too numerous, were it not admitted, that in disgrace and adversity the virtues principally increase and flourish. One of them, however, has not made me any very grateful return for her, entertainment, for she whom you call the political, (though I had rather you had termed her love of country,) after seducing me with her fine name, has nearly, if I may so express myself,

deprived me of a country. The rest, indeed, harmonize more perfectly together. Our country is wherever we can live as we ought.

“ Before I conclude, I must prevail on you to impute whatever incorrectness of orthography or of punctuation in this epistle to my young amanuensis, whose total ignorance of Latin has imposed on me the disagreeable necessity of actually dictating to him every individual letter.

“ That your deserts, as a man, consistently with the high promise with which you raised my expectations in your youth, should have elevated you to so eminent a station in your sovereign’s favour, gives me the most sincere pleasure; and I fervently pray and trust that you may proceed and prosper. Farewell.

“ *London, August, 1666.*”

It appears that he had, several years before this, commenced writing his *History of Britain*: this he had found leisure to complete, at least so far as the *Norman Conquest*. It was published in 1670, but not as it came out of the hands of its honest author: “ For,” says Toland, “ the licensers, those sworn officers to destroy learning, liberty, and good sense, expunged several passages of it, wherein he had exposed the superstition, pride, and cunning, of the Popish monks in the *Saxon* times, but which were applied, by the

sagacious licensers, to the bishops of Charles II." Well, I do not wonder they should have thought it to have been a *parody*! And what could have so galled the bishops, who had been at the bottom of the Act of Uniformity, and all the other persecuting statutes of that infamous and dissolute reign, as a picture of Saxon episcopal superstition, craft, and cunning? Toland says, "the rejection of those passages put me in mind of a *reply* to a certain person by SIR ROBERT HOWARD, a gentleman of great generosity, a patron of letters, a hearty friend to the liberty of his country, and a great admirer of MILTON, and his steady friend to his dying day. MILTON having been charged in some publication with having whipped the Protestant clergy on the back of the heathen and popish priests, SIR ROBERT asked: 'What they had to do there?'" It is not said how he obtained the publication of this History at such a time as was the year 1670; but we are told that he bestowed a copy of the manuscript, while unlicensed, on the Earl of Anglesey, who in common with several of the nobility and gentry, was his constant visitor. "It is," adds Toland, "an irreparable loss to this most potent nation, that MILTON did not find leisure to bring down his history to his own times." There were other powerful causes for this "irreparable loss" than the want of *leisure*. If the reverend *licen-*

sers of the press would not suffer the History of the Saxons before the Conquest to be written fully out, what would they have said to a history written by the unbought and unpurchasable MILTON of the times after the Restoration? The fairly written history of the intrigues of the bishops at the Savoy conference, and to procure the expulsion of two thousand Presbyterian confessors, would have been such an exposure of "superstition, pride, and cunning," as would have driven Dr. Seth Ward, and some others of the episcopal bench, stark raving mad!

MILTON, finding he could not have fair play shown him as a writer of history, employed himself in composing elementary school books—as a Latin Grammar, also a work entitled, "*Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petrie Rami methodum concinnata*." He was permitted to publish too, "A brief History of Muscovy, and other less known Countries lying eastward of it as far as *Cathay*, collected from the relation of several Travellers." He translated from the Latin the Declaration of the Poles concerning the Election of their King, John III. containing an account of the virtues and merits of that prince. He published also SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S "Prince, or Maxims and Aphorisms of State;" and his "Cabinet Council." His biographer, Toland, evidently pained at heart that the bigotry of the

bishops should have bound in fetters this blind Sampson, and thus have almost deprived the world of his learning and knowledge, says: "More pieces of this rarely accomplished, though unfortunate gentleman, were made public by other persons; and I daily expect more from *James Tyrrel*, who has the manuscript copies."

The mighty energies of MILTON were at length roused, by the shameful and hypocritical countenance which at this time were given to papists by the king and the Duke of York, the heir presumptive to the throne. He saw through the thin disguise which had, in 1672, granted licenses for opening the meeting-houses of Protestant dissenters; nor could he feel any thing but detestation of the dispensing power arrogated by the king, in granting, for a small sum of money, such licenses. It is not said, but it is by no means improbable, that the bishops might have now solicited the aid of their former implacable foe, and still, as to his dissenting principles, uncompromising enemy. However it was, in the year 1673, he wrote what proved to be his last work, and which was published just before his death. This was entitled, "*A Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best Means that may be used to prevent the growth of Popery*." The author, J. M. London, printed in the year 1673."

The work thus commences:—

“It is unknown to no man, who knows aught of concernment among us, that the increase of Popery is at this day no small trouble and offence to [the] greatest part of the nation; and the rejoicing of all good men that it is so, the more their rejoicing, that God hath given a heart to the people, to remember still their great and happy deliverance from Popish thralldom, and to esteem so highly the precious benefit of his gospel, so freely and so peaceably enjoyed among them. Since, therefore, some have already in public, with many considerable arguments, exhorted the people to beware the growth of this Romish weed; I thought it no less than a common duty to lend my hand, how unable soever to so good a purpose. I will not now enter into the labyrinth of Councils and Fathers, an intangled wood, which the Papist loves to fight in, not with hope of a victory, but to obscure the shame of an overthrow; which yet in that kind of combat, many heretofore, and one of late, hath eminently given them. And such manner of dispute with them, to learned men useful, and very commendable. But I shall insist now, on what is plainer to common apprehension.”

“True religion is the true worship and service of God, learnt and believed from the word of God only. No man or angel can know how God

would be worship'd and serv'd, unless God reveal it: He hath reveal'd and taught it us in the Holy Scriptures by inspir'd ministers, and in the gospel by his own Son and his Apostles, with strictest commands to reject all other traditions or additions whatsoever; according to that of St. Paul, *Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, than that we have preached unto you, let him be anathema, or accurst*; and Deut. iv. 2, *Ye shall not add to the word which I command, neither shall you diminish aught from it.* Rev. xxii. 18, 19, *If any man shall add, &c. If any man shall take away from the words, &c.* With good and religious reasons, therefore, all Protestant churches, with one consent, and particularly the Church of *England*, in her Thirty-nine Articles. Articles 6th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and elsewhere, maintain these two points as the main principles of true religion, that the rule of true religion is, the word of God only; and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith, that is to believe though as the church believes, against or without express authority from Scripture."

His exposure of the system of Popery is in his own best manner: he says—"One of their own famous writers found just cause to stile the Romish Church, Mother of Error, School of Heresy."

Amongst the best means to prevent the growth

of Popery, he says, "Will be to read duly and diligently the Holy Scriptures, which, as St. Paul saith to Timothy, 'From a child thou hast known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make thee wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus;' and to the church at Colosse, (chap. iii. 16,) 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom,' &c." He adds, "The papal anti-christian Church permits not the laity to read the BIBLE in her own tongue: our Protestant Church, on the contrary, hath proposed it to all men, and to this end translated it into English, with profitable notes to what is met with obscure: though what is most necessary to be known is still plainest, that all sorts and degrees of men, not understanding it in the original, may read it in their mother tongue."

"Another means," he says, "to abate Popery, arises from the *constant* reading of Scripture, wherein believers who agree in the main, are every where exhorted to mutual forbearance and charity towards one another, though dissenting in some opinions. It is written that the coat of our Saviour was without seam; whence some would infer, that there should be no division in the church of Christ. It should be so indeed; yet seams in the same cloth neither hurt the garment, nor misbecome it; and not only *seams* but *schisms* will be, while men are fallible. But if

they dissent in matters not essential to belief, while the common adversary is in the field, and shall stand jarring and pelting at one another, they will be soon routed and subdued."

"It is human frailty to err," says he, "and no man is infallible here on earth. But so long as the *Lutherans*, *Calvinists*, *Anabaptists*, *Soci-nians*, and *Arminians*, profess to set the Word of God only before them as the rule of their faith and obedience; and use all diligence and sincerity of heart, by reading, by learning, by study, by prayer for illumination of the Holy Spirit, to understand this rule and obey it, they have don whatever man can do. God will assuredly pardon them, as he did the friends of Job, good and pious men, tho' much mistaken (as there it appears) in som points of doctrin. But som will say, with *Christians* it is otherwise, whom God has promis'd by his Spirit to teach all things. True, all things absolutely necessary to salvation: but the hottest disputes among *Protestants*, calmly and charitably examin'd, will be found less than such. The *Lutheran* holds Con-substantiation; an error indeed, but not mortal. The *Calvinist* is tax'd with Predestination, and to make God the author of sin; not with any dishonorable thoughts of God, but, it may be, over-zealously asserting his absolute power, not without plea from Scripture. The *Anabaptist* is accus'd

of denying Infants their right to Baptism; they say again, that they deny nothing but what the Scripture denys them. The *Arian* and *Socinian* are charg'd to dispute against the Trinity; yet they affirm to believe the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, according to Scripture and the Apostolic Creed. As for the terms of Trinity, Triunity, Coessentiality, Tripersonality, and the like, they reject them as scholastic notions, not to be found in Scripture, which, by a general *Protestant* maxim, is plain and perspicuous abundantly to explain its own meaning in the properest words belonging to so high a matter, and so necessary to be known; *a mystery indeed in their sophistic subtilties, but in Scripture a plain doctrin.* The *Arminian*, lastly, is condemn'd for setting up Free Will against Free Grace; but that imputation he disclaims in all his writings, and grounds himself largely upon Scripture only. It cannot be deny'd that the authors or late revivers of all these sects or opinions, were learned, worthy, zealous, and religious men, as appears by their lives written, and the fame of their many eminent and learned followers, perfect and powerful in the Scriptures, holy and unblamable in their actions: and it cannot be imagin'd that God would desert such painful and zealous labourers in his Church, and ofttimes great sufferers for their conscience, to damnable errors and a reprobate sense,

who had so often implor'd the assistance of his Spirit; but rather, having made no man infallible, that he has pardon'd their errors, and accepts their pious endeavors, sincerely searching all things according to the rule of Scripture, with such guidance and direction as they can obtain of God by prayer. What *Protestant* then, who himself maintains the same principles, and disavows all implicit faith, would persecute, and not rather tolerat such men as these, unless he means to abjure the principles of his own religion? If it be ask'd, how far they should be tolerated? I answer, doubtless equally, as being all *Protestants*; that is, on all occasions to be permitted to give an account of their faith, either by arguing, preaching in their several assemblies, by public writing, and the freedom of printing."

I quote Toland's statement as regards MILTON's sentiments in relation to whether Papists should be also tolerated: "In the last place, MILTON shews that *Popery* (not as it is a *religion, but a tyrannical faction, oppressing all others*) is INTOLERABLE; and that the best method of keeping it from ever increasing in this nation, is by the toleration of all sorts of Protestants, or any others, whose principles do not necessarily lead them to sedition and vice."

After having urged, as another mean to prevent the growth of Popery, the necessity of Pro-

testants "amending their lives," and reforming their conduct, he thus concludes: "Let us therefore, using this last mean, last here spoken of, but first to be done, *amend our lives with all speed*; least, through impenitency, we run into that stupidly, which we now seek by all means warily to avoid, THE WORST OF SUPERSTITIONS, and the HEAVIEST OF ALL GOD'S JUDGMENTS, POPERY!"

It is probable that it was this his last work, that, on account of its Protestant zeal, called forth the spleen of the Rev. Dr. Parker, afterwards the archbishop of James II., who had virulently attacked MILTON in 1673. The celebrated ANDREW MARVEL, who had been associated with MILTON in 1657, as secretary to the Lord Protector, drew his pen in defence of his aged and calumniated friend, and in his "Rehearsal Transposed," addressed to Parker, he thus writes: "You do three times, at least, in your *Reproof*, and in your *Transposer Rehearsed*, well nigh half the book through, run upon an author, J. M. which does not a little offend me. For why should any other man's reputation suffer in a contest between you and me? But it is because you resolved to suspect that he had a hand in my former book, [the first part of the *Rehearsal*, published in 1672,] wherein, whether you deceive yourself or no, you deceive others extreamly.

For, by chance, I had not seen him of two years before; but after I undertook writing, I did more carefully avoid either visiting him or sending to him, lest I should any way involve him in my consequences. And you might have understood, or I am sure your friend, the author of the Common Pleas, could have told you, (he too had a slash at J. M. on my account,) that had *he* took you in hand, you would have had cause to repent the occasion, and not escaped so easily as you did under my *Transposal*. But because, in your 115th page, you are so particular, *you know a friend of ours, &c.* intending THAT J. M. and his answer to *Salmasius*, I think it here seasonable to acquit my promise to you, in giving the reader a short trouble concerning my first acquaintance with you. J. M. was, and is, a man of as great learning and sharpness of wit as any man. It was his misfortune, living in a tumultuous time, to be tossed on the wrong side; and he writ *flagrante bello*, certain dangerous treatises. At his majesty's happy return, J. M. did partake (and you yourself did, for all your huffing) of his royal clemency, and has ever since expiated himself in a retired silence."

I am quite sure that MILTON did not thank his friend MARVEL for this apology. There is not a hint in any writer I have seen, that MILTON ever abjured any of his political principles, or

ever regretted that he had published them! He was an honest *republican*, preferring a council of state, but not objecting to have a presiding head, whether called protector, or even king.

Sir Robert Howard, one of his admirers, asked him once, "What made him side with the republicans?" "Why," said he, "among other things, because there's was the most frugal government; for the trappings of a MONARCHY might set up an ordinary COMMONWEALTH."*

The fact is, that MILTON thought a republican government the most likely to grant, and to protect, liberty of conscience; but he was comparatively indifferent, so *that* was secured, by what kind of government it was effected. And is it any wonder he should have preferred even the government of the army which secured this blessing, to that of a monarch (and such was Charles II.) who set oaths, and vows, and declarations, at defiance, in regard to banishing Protestant dissenters, and putting them to death by thousands, and robbing them, by fines and confiscations, of millions of their property!

The respect which was shown to MILTON after the Restoration, proves the high estimation in which his character for literature, and integrity, and piety was held. Toland having mentioned

* Toland's Life of Milton.

that several of the nobility and gentry were his constant visitors, adds: "Nor was he less frequented by foreners to the last, than in the time of his flourishing condition before the Restoration." What a remarkable proof that "when a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him!" HE, whom he had faithfully served, and aimed steadily to honour, kept him as in the hollow of his hand, and guarded him "as the apple of his eye;" and notwithstanding the numerous and violent changes which he witnessed from 1640 to 1674, he was unchangeable in his principles as to civil and religious liberty, and went through them all with a high degree of reputation both as a citizen and a Christian; and doubtless enjoyed more security and contentment, though blind, in his cottage, than CHARLES did on his throne; or the CABAL in the council, or the Bishops in their palaces!

Toland says: "Towards the latter part of his time he contracted his library, both because the heirs he left could not make a right use of it, and that he thought he could sell it more to their advantage than they would be able to do themselves. His enemies reported that *poverty* constrained him thus to part with his books: and were this true, it would be certainly a great disgrace, not to him, (for persons of the highest merits have been often reduced to that condition,) but to any

country, that should have no more regard to probity or learning. This story, however, is so false, that he died worth fifteen hundred pounds, besides all his [household] goods. The house wherein he was born, and which persons used to visit [on that account] before the fire, [in 1666,] was part of his estate as long as he lived. He put two thousand pounds into the Excise, which he lost when that Bank failed; not to mention another great sum which was gon for want of management and good advice."

He had enjoyed through life tolerable, but not uninterrupted health. His principle disorder which troubled him most was the gout, and this at last brought him to his end. He died without much pain, the 8th of November, 1674, in the 66th year of his age. None of his biographers have preserved any account of the state of his mind in his last sickness: there can be no reasonable ground however for doubting, but that having through life "given diligence to make his calling and election sure," that in his death he did not "fall:"—"And so an entrance was administered to him abundantly into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," to whose direction he had scrupulously adhered, and on whose promise he had steadily relied:—" *Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life.*"

In relation to the house in which he died, Hayley says: "Soon after his marriage in 1661, he had removed from his house in Jewin Street to a house in the Artillery Walk, leading to Bunhill-Fields, a spot that, to his enthusiastick admirers, may appear consecrated by his genius. Here he resided at that period of his days when he was peculiarly entitled to veneration: here he probably finished no less than three of his most admirable works; and here, with a dissolution so easy that it was unperceived by the persons in his bed-chamber, he closed a life, clouded indeed by uncommon and various calamities, yet ennobled by the constant exercise of such rare endowments, as render his name, perhaps, the very first in that radiant and comprehensive list, of which England, the most fertile of countries in the produce of mental power, has reason to be proud."

Speaking of his funeral, Toland says, "All his learned and great friends in *London*, not without a friendly concourse of the vulgar, accompanied his body to the church of St GILES, near Cripplegate, where he lies buried in the chancel." The register is thus entered, "JOHN MELTON, gentleman, consumption, chancell, 12th November, 1674." Melton has been altered in fresher ink to Milton.*

* Todd, 217.

“Thus lived and died,” adds Toland, “JOHN MILTON, a person of the best accomplishments, the happiest genius, and the vastest learning, which this nation, so renown’d for producing excellent writers, could ever yet show: esteem’d indeed at home, but much more honor’d abroad, where almost in his childhood he made a considerable figure, and continues to be still reputed one of the brightest luminaries of the sciences.

“He was middle-siz’d, and well proportion’d, his deportment erect and manly, his hair of a light brown, his features exactly regular, his complexion wonderfully fair when a youth, and ruddy to the very last.

“He was affable in conversation, of an equal and chearful temper, and highly delighted with all sorts of music, in which he was himself not meanly skill’d.

“He was extraordinarily temperat in his diet, which was any thing most in season or the easiest procured, and was no friend to sharp or strong liquors.

“His recreations, before his sight was gon, consisted much in feats of activity, particularly in the exercise of his arms, which he could handle with dexterity: but when blindness confin’d him, he play’d much upon an organ he kept in the house, and had a pully to swing and keep him in motion.

“ But the love of books exceeded all his other passions. In summer he would be stirring at four in the morning, and in winter at five; but at night he us'd to go to bed by nine, partly attributing the loss of his eyes to his late watching when he was a student, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time: but when he was not dispos'd to rise at his usual hours, he always had one to read to him by his bed-side.

“ As he look'd upon true and absolute freedom to be the greatest happiness of this life, whether to societies or single persons; so he thought constraint of any sort to be the utmost misery: for which reason he us'd to tell those about him the entire satisfaction of his mind, that he had constantly imploy'd his strength and faculties in the defence of liberty, and in a direct opposition to slavery.

“ He ever exprest the profoundest reverence to the Deity, as well in deeds as words; and would say to his friends, that the divine properties of Goodness, Justice, and Mercy, were the adequate rule of human actions, nor less the object of imitation for privat advantages, than of admiration or respect for their own excellence and perfection.

“ In his early days he was a favorer of those *Protestants* then opprobriously call'd by the

name of *Puritans*: in his middle years he was best pleas'd with the *Independents* and *Anabaptists*, as allowing of more liberty than others, and coming nearest, in his opinion, to the primitive practice: but in the latter part of his life, he was not a profest member of any particular sect among Christians, he frequented none of their assemblies, nor made use of their peculiar rites in his family. Whether this proceeded from a dislike of their uncharitable and endless disputes, and that love of dominion, or inclination to persecution, which, he said, was a piece of Popery inseparable from all churches; or whether he thought one might be a good man, without subscribing to any party; and that they had all in some things corrupted the institutions of Jesus Christ, I will by no means adventure to determine: for conjectures on such occasions are very uncertain, and I never met with any of his acquaintance who could be positive in assigning the true reasons of his conduct.

“I shall now conclude this discourse with a character given of him by a man of unparallel'd diligence and industry, who has disobligh'd all sides, merely for telling the truth, either intirely, or without disguise; and who, since most men have the frailty of ingaging in factions, cannot be suspected of partiality in favor of MILTON. ‘He was a person,’ says Anthony Wood, in the first

volume of his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ‘ of wonderful parts, of a very sharp, biting, and satirical wit ; he was a good philosopher and historian ; an excellent poet, Latinist, Grecian, and Hebrician ; a good mathematician and musician ; and so rarely endow’d by nature, that had he bin but honestly principled, he might have bin highly useful to that party, against which he all along appear’d with much malice and bitterness.’ ”

In JONATHAN RICHARDSON’S edition of his poetical works, it is stated, “ He seems to have had but little regard to the exterior of religion. We hear of nothing of that even in his last hours ; and whatever he did in the former part of his life, he frequented no public worship in his latter years, nor attended to any in his own little family.

“ He had a gravity in his temper not melancholy, and, not till the latter part of his life, not sour, morose, or ill-natured ; but a certain serenity of mind, a mind not condescending to little things.

“ His fervour of mind was most ardent, but not unrestrainable when ’twas evident it could be to no good purpose ; for, after the Restoration, he no more engaged in the old disputes. He had given sufficient proofs of his courage in former times ; but even now he scorned to flatter power, as many did : the same honesty was seen in him ; his old principles were well known to continue ; they are seen even in *Paradise Lost*.”

It is astonishing that so much should have been made by his biographers (none of whom have been of his religious principles, and therefore could not form a proper idea of his manner of life) "of his frequenting no public worship," and founding, upon that supposed *fact*, that he had no regard for religion. No one, who reads his life impartially, will hesitate a moment in concluding that he was a religious man of the highest grade of excellence; and if they were to consider, that the *sects* with which he associated had but very few, if any, *places of public worship* until 1672, meeting *privately* from house to house, on account of persecution, this may serve to solve the problem, how such a man as the writer of "Paradise Lost" should not have frequented any place "of public worship." If, indeed, by "place of public worship," is intended the parish churches, it is very true; but that is no more than may be said of several millions of Britons now—the Protestant Dissenters and Methodists.

And as to his not attending to any "worship in his family," it is most likely this means nothing more than that he used no prescribed form, or the "peculiar rites" of the national church. And as to his "seeming to have had but little regard to the exterior of religion in his last hours," I suppose this only means, from the pen of a churchman, that he did not send for a clergyman

to give him the sacrament, and pronounce the absolution service!

His widow sold the copyright of "Paradise Lost," which had devolved upon her, to Simmons, for eight pounds. Her receipt is dated December 21st, 1680; and a general release from all further claim is dated April 29th, 1681.*

She spent her last days at Namptwich, in Cheshire, where she was a member of the Baptist church; and died about 1729.

The following are the brief directions which MILTON gave to his brother Christopher, respecting his will, about the 20th of July, 1674. "Brother, the portion due to me from Mr. Powell, my first wife's father, I leave to the unkind children I had by her; but I have received no part of it; and my will and meaning is, they have no other benefit from my estate than the said portion, and what I have besides done for them, they having been very undutiful to me; and all the residue of my estate I leave to the disposal of Elizabeth, my loving wife."

This will was contested by his daughters, whose

* Simmons covenanted to transfer the right to Brabazon Aylmer, for twenty-five pounds. Aylmer sold half of it to Jacob Tonson, August 17th, 1683, and the other moiety, March 24th, 1690, at a price considerably advanced; and twenty-eight pounds in thirteen years, was all that the poet and his widow obtained for this great work.

undutiful conduct it condemned: being deficient in form, it was set aside, and letters of administration were granted to the widow, who is said to have allotted a hundred pounds to each daughter.

Dr. Johnson has described MILTON as a cruel father, without any evidence.

"MILTON's youngest daughter," says Richardson, "spoke of her father with great tenderness: she said—'he was delightful company, the life of the conversation, and that on account of a flow of subject, and an unaffected cheerfulness and civility.'"

Of the other daughters it is recorded, that Ann, the eldest, with a deformed person, married an architect, and died with her first infant in child-bed. Mary, the second, died unmarried. Deborah married Mr. Clark, a weaver in Spitalfields: she died in 1727, aged seventy-six. As her family was numerous, and also poor, Addison made her a present, and Queen Caroline presented her with fifty guineas. In the year 1750, *Comus* was acted at one of the theatres, as a benefit for one of Mrs. Clark's daughters, Mrs. Elizabeth Foster, who had been found by Dr. Birch and Dr. Newton, two of the biographers of her illustrious grandfather, keeping a little chandler's shop in the city, poor, aged, and infirm. One hundred and thirty pounds were thus gained to her and

her family, a husband and seven children: these all died before their mother, and by her own death it is probable the line of MILTON became extinct.

The sister of MILTON, *Anne*, was married, with a considerable fortune, to Edward Phillips, who came from Shrewsbury, and rose in the crown-office to be secondary: by him she had two sons, John and Edward, who were educated by the poet, and from whom is derived the only authentic account of his life and manners.

His brother, Christopher, "studied the law, and adhered," says Johnson, "*as the law taught him*, to the king's party, for which he was for a while persecuted; but having, *by his brother's interest*, obtained permission to live in quiet, he supported himself so honourably by chamber practice, that soon after the accession of King James II. he was knighted, and made a judge; but his constitution being too weak for business, he retired, before any disreputable compliances became necessary." It is wonderful Dr. Johnson had not considered that "the law taught him to adhere" to the *popish* king's party too!!

The following letter, copied from the original in the British Museum, which has not, I believe, till now been printed, relates to Mrs. Deborah Clark:—

“MR. GEORGE VERTUE TO MR. CHARLES
CHRISTIAN.

“MR. CHRISTIAN,

“Pray inform my Lord Henley that I have on Thursday last seen the daughter of MILTON the poet. I carried with me two or three different prints of MILTON’s picture, which she immediately knew to be like her father; and told me her mother-in-law, living in Cheshire, had two pictures of him, one when he was a school-boy, and the other when about twenty. She knows of no other picture of him, because she was several years in Ireland, both before and after his death. She was the youngest of MILTON’s daughters by his first wife, and was taught to read to her father several languages.

“Mr. Addison was desirous of seeing her once, and desired she would bring with her testimonials of her being MILTON’s daughter. But as soon as she came into the room, he told her she needed none, her face having much of the likeness of the pictures he had seen of him.

“For my part, I find the features of her face very much like the prints. I shewed her the painting I have to engrave, which she believes not to be her father’s picture, it being of a brown complexion, and black hair, and curled locks.

On the contrary, he was of a fair complexion, a little red in his cheeks, and light brown, lank hair.

“I desire you would acquaint Mr. Prior I was so unfortunate to wait on him on Thursday morning, but just after he was gone out of town. It was the intent to inquire of him, if he remembers a picture of MILTON in the late Lord Dorset’s collection, as I am told there was; or if he can inform me how I shall inquire or know the truth of this affair. I should be much obliged to him, being very willing to have all certainty on that account, before I proceed to engrave the plate, that it may be the more satisfactory to the public as well as myself. The sooner you communicate this, the better, because I want to resolve, which I can’t well do till I have an answer, which will much oblige

“Your friend to command,

“GEORGE VERTUE.

“*Saturday, August 12th, 1721.*”

In the year 1793, by the munificence of Mr. Whitbread, father of the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M. P. an animated marble bust, the sculpture of Bacon, under which is a plain tablet, recording the dates of the poet’s birth and of his decease, was erected in the middle aisle of St. Giles’s church, Cripplegate, with the inscription—*To the Author*

of Paradise Lost. A similar tribute of respect had been paid in 1737 by Mr. Benson, who procured his bust to be admitted into Westminster Abbey, where once his name had been considered a profanation.

The attentive reader will have observed several passages in MILTON's writings, which prove him to have been, in regard to his sentiments, an orthodox Trinitarian; and this he had avowed himself to be in his last publication. Within the last ten years, a Latin manuscript has been discovered in the State Paper Office, bearing his name, and various internal marks of genuineness, which contains sentiments at variance with that opinion. By the command of his late majesty, George IV. this work was translated and published in 1825, entitled, "A Treatise of Christian Doctrine, compiled from the Holy Scriptures alone. By JOHN MILTON. Translated from the original by Charles R. Sumner, M. A." quarto. All his religious sentiments, published by himself in his life-time, are repeated and confirmed in this treatise, excepting those chapters which treat "Of the Son of God," and "Of the Holy Spirit." I apprehend, had he followed, as he professes to do, "the doctrine of Holy Scripture exclusively," and have "discarded reason in sacred matters," (p. 89,) he would have arrived at a very different conclusion, than to have asserted, that the Son of God,

though endued with the divine nature and substance, was yet distinct from, and inferior to, the Father, receiving from the Father every thing in his filial as well as his mediatorial character. It will be seen that these sentiments ascribe to the Son as high a share of divinity as was compatible with the rejection of his self-existence and eternal generation, and the denial of his co-equality and co-essentiality with the Father. To show how loosely he reasons upon the plain statements of inspired truth, both of the Old and New Testament writers, I will quote his commentary on Heb. i. 8. "*Unto the Son, or of the Son,*" he saith, "*Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.* But in the next verse it follows, *Thou hast loved righteousness, &c. therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows,* where almost every word indicates the sense in which Christ is here termed God; and the words of Jehovah, put into the mouth of the bridal virgins, Ps. xlv. might have been more properly quoted by this writer for any other purpose, than to prove that the Son is co-equal with the Father, since they are originally applied to Solomon, to whom, as properly as to Christ, the title of God might have been given on account of his kingly power, conformably to the language of Scripture." To say nothing of the way in which he

treats an *inspired* author, I merely remark, how different is this statement, both as to its spirit and sentiments, to the following stanza in the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," written, according to Warton, as a college exercise, at the age of twenty-one:—

"That glorious form, that light unsufferable,
And that far-beaming blaze of majesty,
Whereas he wont at heav'n's high council-table
To sit the midst of Trinal Unity,
He laid aside; and here with us to be,
Forsook the courts of everlasting day,
And chose with us a darksome house of mortal clay."

His chapter "OF THE HOLY SPIRIT," for the purpose of disproving that proper divinity and distinct personality are attributed to the Spirit of God, thus concludes: "Lest, however, any should ask who or what the Holy Spirit is, although Scripture nowhere teaches us in express terms, it may be collected from the passages quoted above, that the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as he is a minister of God, and therefore a creature, was created, or produced, of the substance of God, not by a natural necessity, but by the forewill of the agent, probably before the foundations of the world were laid, but later than the Son, and far inferior to him. It will be objected, that thus the Holy Spirit is not sufficiently distinguished from the

Son. I reply, that the scriptural expressions themselves, *to come forth, to go out from the Father, to proceed from the Father*, which mean the same in the Greek, do not distinguish the Son from the Holy Spirit, inasmuch as these terms are used indiscriminately with reference to both persons, and signify their mission, not their nature. There is, however, sufficient reason for placing the name, as well as the nature of the Son, above that of the Holy Spirit, in discussion of topics relative to the Deity; inasmuch as the brightness of the glory of God, and the express image of his person, are said to have been impressed on the one, and not on the other," p. 171. In this statement does he not lose himself, in attempting what is said to be impossible? "*Who can by searching find out God?*"

The serious reader will, it is hoped, not be led away by the influence of even MILTON's name upon this all-important subject; but be induced to search the Scriptures as the only authoritative tribunal. The various epithets given to the Spirit of God, as Holy, Good, &c. &c. clearly point out his nature and operations; while the personal pronouns by which he is described, prove that the Spirit cannot be a mere quality of the Deity, but one of the three Persons in the Godhead.

With much greater pleasure than I have found in quoting the former extracts, I give a few from

the chapter entitled, "Of MAN'S RESTORATION, and of CHRIST as a REDEEMER." He says, "In this restoration are comprized, the *redemption and renovation of man.*" He thus defines this subject: "*Redemption is that act whereby Christ, being sent in the fulness of time, redeemed all believers at the price of his own blood, by his own voluntary act, conformably to the eternal counsel and grace of God the Father.*"

After having insisted upon the pre-existence of Christ, as the Son of God, he says, "This incarnation of Christ, whereby he, being God, took upon him the human nature, and was made flesh, without thereby ceasing to be numerically the same as before, is generally considered by theologians as, next to the Trinity in Unity, the greatest mystery of our religion. Of the mystery of the Trinity, however, no mention is made in Scripture; whereas the incarnation is frequently called by that name."

Again, in the chapter entitled, "*Of the functions of the Mediator, and his threefold office,*" he remarks, "Christ's sacerdotal office is that whereby he once offered himself to God the Father as a sacrifice *for sinners, and has always made, and still continues to make, intercession for us.*"

Many other extracts of a similar kind might

have been made, but the reader, if he wishes, can consult the work for himself. It affords me real pleasure to quote with entire satisfaction the following remarks of the Bishop of Chester: "With respect to the cardinal doctrine of the atonement, the opinions of MILTON are expressed throughout in the strongest and most unqualified manner. No attentive reader of *Paradise Lost* can have failed to remark, that the poem is constructed on the fundamental principle that the sacrifice of Christ was strictly vicarious; that not only was man redeemed, but a real price, 'life for life,' was paid for his redemption. The same system will be found fully and unequivocally maintained in this treatise; and much as it is to be regretted that it cannot be said, in the author's own words elsewhere of the Son of God, as delineated in the following pages, that

'In him all his Father shone
Substantially express'd,'

yet the translator rejoices in being able to state, that the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ is so scripturally and unambiguously enforced, as to leave on that point nothing to be desired." MILTON "gloried in the cross of Christ."

It will be recollected how strongly MILTON, in his work on "The likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church," spoke of the un-

scriptural mode of paying the clergy by tithes. In this work also, it is said: "To exact or bargain for tithes, or other stipendiary payments under the gospel, to extort them from the flock under the alleged authority of civil edicts, or to have recourse to civil actions and legal processes for the recovery of allowances purely ecclesiastical, is the part of wolves rather than of ministers of the gospel." Acts xx. 29.

In his *History of Britain*, he quotes to the same effect Gildas's character of the Saxon clergy: "Subtle prowlers, pastors in name, but indeed wolves; intent upon all occasions, not to feed the flocks, but to pamper and well-line themselves."

It having been stated that MILTON was of the Baptist denomination, the following extracts is made in confirmation: "*Under the gospel, the first of the sacraments commonly so called is baptism, wherein the bodies of believers who engage themselves to newness of life are immersed in running water,* to signify their regeneration by the Holy Spirit, and their union with Christ in his death, burial, and resurrection.*"

From this statement he argues: "Hence it follows that infants are not to be baptized, inas-

* There were at that time no baptisteries: the Baptists used the *rivers* as their *fonts*.

much as they are incompetent to receive instruction, or to believe, or to enter into a covenant, or to promise or answer for themselves, or even to hear the word. For how can infants, who understand not the word, be purified thereby, any more than adults can receive edification by hearing an unknown language? For it is not that outward baptism, which purifies only the filth of the flesh, which saves us, *but the answer of a good conscience*, as Peter testifies; of which infants are incapable. Besides, baptism is not merely a covenant, containing a certain stipulation on one side, with a corresponding engagement on the other, which in the case of an infant is impossible; but it is also a vow, and as such can neither be pronounced by infants, nor required of them. It is remarkable to what futile arguments those divines have recourse who maintain the contrary opinions."

"IMMERSION. It is in vain alleged by those who, on the authority of Mark vii. 4, Luke xi. 38, have introduced the practice of affusion in baptism, instead of immersion, that to dip and sprinkle mean the same thing; since in washing we do not sprinkle the hands, but immerse them."

The opinions of MILTON in regard to the capital doctrine of the TRINITY, as contained in this manuscript, are so utterly at variance with those on the same subject in the works published by

himself, that it is difficult to conceive how both could have proceeded from the same pen. Admitting, however, that the "Treatise of Christian Doctrine," which is without any date, was dictated by him, (and for that conclusion there are certainly very strong reasons,) at what period of his life could it have been written? It should seem it must have been subsequent to the publication of his *Paradise Lost* in 1666; for were it written sooner, surely that work could not have contained the sublime sentiments which are applied to the Son of God, and to the Holy Spirit. And yet, upon that supposition, it must consequently have been during the last eight years of his life, but then how can we account for his having asserted in 1674, in his last work, that "the doctrine of the Trinity is a plain doctrine in Scripture?" In fact, this manuscript is involved in mystery; but supposing the possibility of its genuineness, I am inclined to adopt a remark applied to the seraphic and pious Dr. Watts, in reference to the gigantic MILTON, that "he had studied the doctrine of the Trinity, as some Indian devotees are said to have contemplated the sun, till their own sight was darkened." Affecting instances these, of the errors into which the most powerful minds might be led, if they are not satisfied to receive the mysteries of the gospel, as matters to be believed upon

the authority of divine inspiration, and not to be explained by the feeble and darkened reason of fallen nature. Happy would it have been for these two great men, had they been influenced in all their reasonings on the nature and perfections of Jehovah, by the sentiment and spirit of the following most admirable couplet:—

“Where *reason* fails, with all her powers,
There *faith* prevails, and love adores.*

WATTS.

It is a very remarkable feature in the history of some of the most eminent men whom God has raised up for usefulness in his church, that they should have lived long enough to have exhibited in their old age such remarkable proofs of imbecility, as to prove that the best of men are not perfect, either in grace or in knowledge; and that “no man should glory in men.” Such men, as Cranmer, and Watts, and Milton, might have been supposed to be a kind of super-human beings, not partaking of the weaknesses and infirmities of men in general; but who that are acquainted with the aberrations and folly which they manifested, but will unite in the truth of

* As to the history of the finding of this manuscript in the State Paper Office, I must refer the reader to the Preface to the translation, and to Todd's Account of MILTON, published in 1826.

that trite maxim, "The best of men are but men at the best;" or of this, "All is not good that good men do, nor wise that wise men say." Such things, whether recorded by the pen of inspiration, or of common history, are written for our learning, not for our imitation, but for our admonition, to the intent we should "trust in the Lord with all our heart," and not to "lean to our own understanding," as they evidently did. In regard to matters of faith, we are taught in various ways "not to call any man master, because one is our master, even Christ."

Such was my veneration for the character of MILTON, before I read this "Treatise of Christian Doctrine," that I had placed him, as a theologian, in the first rank of uninspired men: I acknowledge my high opinion of him has been greatly lowered, and I could weep over him on account of his having ventured to use his pen to lower the dignity of my Divine Lord, of whom it is written, "That all men should honour the Son *even as* they honour the Father;" but how can that be done, without attributing to the Son the same divine attributes, honours, and worship, which we pay to the Father? No one, who has paid any serious attention to these subjects, but ought to confess there are as great, or greater, difficulties connected with every scheme which has been adopted to make them plain to human,

reason, as with that which implicitly believes them. That the Son and Spirit, as well as the Father, have divine and personal perfections, and works, ascribed to them in Scripture, cannot be doubted—that the Unity of Jehovah is also plainly stated in the oracles of truth is incontrovertible—but the *manner* in which these *three* equal persons make *one* Jehovah, is not revealed. I consider, however, that revealed doctrines, though mysteries, are to be received, because they are revealed; and because, if they are rejected on the account of their being irreconcilable to reason, the Bible is invalidated as the sole umpire in matters of religion; and consequently, that we are left without a standard by which to judge between truth and error. I certainly should be pleased, could any one furnish irrefragable evidence that the manuscript entitled, “Treatise of Christian Doctrine,” was not written by the eminent man whose “*superscription*,”* but not whose “*image*,” is stamped upon it.

My opinion respecting the unimpeachable *integrity* of MILTON’s character, and the unequalled powers of his mind, remains unaltered: as a stern patriot, an ardent lover of his country—as an enlightened Christian, contending for the inalienable birthright of conscience in matters of reli-

* It deserves remark, the name of MILTON prefixed, nor is the manuscript in his own hand-writing.

gion—as a zealous Protestant, defending the doctrines of the Reformation, and as a genuine believer, “careful to maintain good works;” I consider him as having realized and exemplified his devout wish mentioned in a former part of this work, “AS FOR ME, MY WISH IS TO LIVE AND TO DIE AN HONEST MAN.”

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THE FOLLOWING IS COPIED FROM TOLAND'S
LIFE.

AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF ALL MILTON'S WORKS, IN
THEIR TRUE ORDER.

1. Of Reformation in England, and the Causes that hitherto have hinder'd it. In two Books: written to a Friend.
2. Of Prelatical Episcopacy, and whether it can be deduc'd from the Apostolical Times.
3. The Reason of Church Government urg'd against Prelacy. In two Books.
4. Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence against Smectymnuus.
5. An Apology for Smectymnuus.
6. The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce restor'd for the Good of both Sexes.
7. Tetrachordon; or Expositions upon the four chief places of Scripture which treat of Marriage, or Nullities in Marriage.
8. The Judgment of MARTIN BUCER concerning Divorce.

9. Colasterion; a Reply to a nameless Answer against the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce.
10. Of Education, to Mr. SAMUEL HARTLIB.
11. Areopagitica: a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicens'd Printing, to the Parliament of England.
12. The Tenure of Kings and Magistrats, proving that it is lawful to call a Tyrant to account, and to depose or put him to death.
13. Eikonoclastes, in answer to a Book entitul'd, Eikon Basilike.
14. Observations on ORMOND's Articles of Peace with the Irish, his Letter to COLONEL JONES, and on the Representation of the Presbytery of Belfast.
15. Defensio pro Populo Anglicano, or his Defence of the People of England, against SALMASIUS's Defence of the King.
16. Joannis Philipi Responsio ad Apologiam Anonymi cujusdam.
17. Defensio secunda pro Populo Anglicano, &c.
18. Defensio pro se adversus Alexandrum Morum.
19. A Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes.
20. Considerations touching the likeliest Means to remove Hirelings out of the Church.
21. A Letter to a Friend concerning the Ruptures of the Commonwealth.
22. The brief Delineation of a Commonwealth.
23. Brief Notes on Dr. GRIFFITH's Sermon, intitul'd, The Fear of God and the King.

24. The ready and easy Way to establish a Free Commonwealth, and the Excellence thereof compar'd with the Dangers and Inconveniences of readmitting Kingship in this Nation.
25. Paradise Lost.
26. Paradise Regain'd, and Sampson Agonistes.
27. Occasional and Juvenil Poems, English and Latin.
28. The History of Britain to the Norman Conquest.
29. Accedence commenc'd Grammar.
30. A brief History of Muscovy.
31. A Declaration of the Election of JOHN III. King of Poland.
32. *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata.*
33. A Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best Means to prevent the growth of Popery.
34. *Litteræ Senatus Anglicani, &c. or Letters of State.*
35. *Epistolarum familiarum liber unus; accesserunt Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ.*

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1. The first step is to identify the *problem* or *issue* that needs to be addressed. This involves understanding the current situation, identifying the key stakeholders, and determining the goals and objectives of the project.

the following: (1) the number of cases of the disease, (2) the number of deaths, (3) the number of cases that are hospitalized, (4) the number of cases that are treated, and (5) the number of cases that are cured. The number of cases of the disease is the most important factor in determining the number of deaths, the number of cases that are hospitalized, the number of cases that are treated, and the number of cases that are cured. The number of deaths is the most important factor in determining the number of cases that are hospitalized, the number of cases that are treated, and the number of cases that are cured. The number of cases that are hospitalized is the most important factor in determining the number of cases that are treated, and the number of cases that are cured. The number of cases that are treated is the most important factor in determining the number of cases that are cured. The number of cases that are cured is the most important factor in determining the number of cases that are cured.

ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

DR. JOHNSON'S LIFE OF MILTON.

THIS most illiberal writer intimates at the commencement of his Life of Milton, that instead of writing a new life,

“ he might perhaps more properly have contented himself with the addition of a few notes to Mr. Fenton's, which had been previously written.”

It would have been well for the interests of truth had he sternly adhered to that opinion, as there perhaps never was so flagrant an instance of downright misrepresentation and perversion of facts, for the mean purpose of caricaturing and distorting the features of a public man, than in Johnson's Life of Milton: a foul blot on English biography, a lasting disgrace to the man who could lend himself to such baseness.

It appears to me impossible to account for the venomous attack which he has made upon this most illustrious of our countrymen, but on the supposition that he was influenced by the same malignant feelings and principles of Jacob's sons towards Joseph: “ His brethren *hated* him, and could not speak peaceably to him; moved with *envy* they sold him into Egypt.” Dr. Johnson *hated* MILTON, because he

had published principles in regard to civil and religious liberty which Johnson was not capable of appreciating either their truth or their excellence. Did he not *envy* him on account of the superiority of his learning, talents, and fame? Not, it should seem, from any consciousness of his inferiority to him in either, but from knowing that if his own name should happen to be mentioned at the same time with MILTON, it would only be for the purpose of its being used as a foil to set off his rival's pre-eminent knowledge and benevolence. There never was probably a more correct exemplification of Solomon's maxim than in Johnson's Life of MILTON: "*Anger* is cruel, and *wrath* is vexatious; but who is able to stand before ENVY?"

In his first paragraph, speaking of one of MILTON's progenitors, who had forfeited his estate in the times of York and Lancaster, he adds,

"Which side he took I know not; his descendant inherited no veneration for the *White Rose*."*

How soon his bile exudes! The thought of popular liberty struggling with *jure divino* tyranny shakes his nerves, disturbs his spirits, so that he cannot speak even of a remote predecessor of MILTON without an expression of his indignant hatred of the man who could venture to investigate the "tenure of kings and magistrates," and to write in vindication of the execution of a monarch who had been convicted of murdering the subjects whom he had sworn to protect!

Speaking of the brother of MILTON, he adds,

"And Chistopher, who studied the law, and adhered *as the law taught him* to the king's party, for which he was awhile persecuted."†

Is it the common law, Dr. Johnson, that you mean? Even that supposes that in return for the subject paying taxes for

* Johnson's Works, vol. vi. p. 84.

† Ibid. p. 85.

the support of royalty, he is to enjoy in return the protection of the state. Is it the law of *habeas corpus*, which secures to all who were not *villians* equal rights? O no, Dr. Johnson must have known, that whatever blind superstition might have taught him as to passive obedience and non-resistance, that the spirit of English law taught men the love of freedom, and that civil and religious liberty were their inalienable birthright, though they had been robbed of it by despotic rulers.

He adds,

“But having, by his brother's [the poet's] interest, obtained permission to live in quiet, he supported himself so honourably by chamber practice, that soon after the accession of King James, he was knighted, and made a judge; but his constitution being too weak for business, he retired *before any disreputable compliances became necessary.*”*

It appears, from this sentence, that Dr. Johnson would have justified the non-resistance of the seven bishops whom James the Second sent to the Tower for their contumacy. “I should not,” said his popish majesty, “have expected this from *you!*” Nor should I have thought that the ultra tory, Dr. Johnson, would have considered any obedience to the command of a king a *disreputable* compliance. Is not tyranny the same, whether exercised in regard to religion or civil rights? And I more than suspect, had Dr. Johnson been a judge, as was Sir Christopher Milton, if he would not have united with James's judges, of disgraceful memory, who declared “*the laws to be the king's laws;*” and have justified his conduct by saying, that the laws taught him “subjection to the higher powers!” I am reminded of one lawyer of this period, who was, in his opinions, the complete opposite to Dr. Johnson. When old Sergeant Maynard waited with his congratulations on William the Third, the king remarked to him, “You must have outlived all your contemporaries in the law.” “May it please your majesty,” replied the con-

* Ibid. p. 84.

stitutional lawyer, "and I should have outlived the laws themselves, but for the happy arrival and glorious success of your majesty."

Dr. Johnson then proceeds:

"He [MILTON] went to the university, with a design of entering into the church, but in time altered his mind; for he declared, that whoever became a clergyman must 'subscribe *slave*, and take an oath withal, that unless he took with a conscience that could retch, he must straight perjure himself.' He thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the office of speaking, bought and begun with the practice of forswearing. These expressions are, I find, applied to the *subscription* to the Articles; but it seems more probable that they relate to *canonical* obedience. I know not any of the Articles which seem to thwart his opinions; but the thoughts of obedience, whether canonical or civil, raised his indignation."*

It should seem that it was MILTON's refusal to subscribe *ex animo* to articles which he did not believe, and to canons which he dared not swear he would implicitly obey, which raised the indignation of Dr. Johnson! But must not the Dr. have known *some* of the Articles which seemed to thwart his opinions? I am sure the Twentieth Article, entitled, "Of the authority of the Church," more than *seemed* to do so! "The Church hath power to decree rights or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith."† I am quite certain the Eighth Article thwarted his opinions, entitled, "Of the Three Creeds." "The three creeds, Nice Creed, Athanasius Creed, and that which is commonly called the Apostles' Creed, ought thoroughly to

* Johnson's Works, vol. vi. p. 90.

† This sentence, which is the key-stone of the arch by which the Established Church is supported, was added no one knows *when*, or by *whom*; but it is most likely, had it been dove-tailed on by the authority of the queen as head of the church, some historian or other would have mentioned it. It is not in King Edward's Articles, and I have no doubt is of *surreptitious* origin!!

be received and believed; for they may be proved by most certain warrant of the Holy Scripture." The Twenty-third, entitled, "Of ministering to the Congregation," more than seemed to thwart his opinion:—"It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of public preaching, or ministering the sacraments in the congregation, before he be lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have public authority given unto them in the congregation, to call and send ministers into the Lord's vineyard." The Twenty-seventh Article, "Of Baptism," entirely thwarted his opinions:—"Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened; but it is a sign of *regeneration*, or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the promises of the forgiveness of sins, of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased, by virtue of prayer unto God. The baptism of young children is in any wise to be retained in the church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ." In king Edward's Articles, published in 1552, number Twenty-eight, the last clause thus reads: "*The custom of the church, to christen young children, is to be commended, and in any wise to be retained in the church.*" In this Article, too, the term "*regeneration*" is not used in reference to the baptism of infants!!

I am certain the Thirty-fourth Article, entitled, "Of the Traditions of the Church," thwarted his opinions entirely: "It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike, for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversity of countries, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever, through his *private judg-*

ment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the church, which be not repugnant to the word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as one that offendeth against the common order of the church, and hurteth the authority of the magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren. 'Every particular or national church, hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the church, ordained only by men's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.'" The last sentence in quotation marks, is not in king Edward's Article, number Thirty-three!!

I might instance other Articles, as number Thirty-six, entitled, "Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers;" number Thirty-seven, entitled, "Of Civil Magistrates." In king Edward's Article it is asserted, "The king of *England* is supreme head in earth, next under Christ, of the Church of England and Ireland." In queen Elizabeth's, it is thus stated, 'Supreme headship of the first civil magistrate next under Christ,' &c. &c. and is much changed; for which alteration the reason is assigned, because the compilers say they had understood the "*titles*" which they had attributed to the queen's majesty had "offended the minds of some dangerous folks," [John Fox, the martyrologist, Thomas Cartwright, and hundreds of godly ministers besides them, to say nothing of "the congregation of faithful men."] "The queen's majesty hath the chief power in this realm of *England*, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction." "Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some dangerous folks to be offended: we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word, or of the sacraments,

the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our queen, do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in Holy Scripture by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil doers.*"

I appeal to the candid reader, who is acquainted with the religious opinions of MILTON, whether all the above Articles are not in direct opposition *toto calo* to those which he has so powerfully maintained. An *ingenuous* mind would, instead of censuring MILTON for refusing to subscribe what he did not believe, as, by so doing, he would have committed *perjury*, and that too in regard to matters of "truth, conscience, and God," have expressed regret that the Articles of the Church were so framed, and the demand of subscription so rigid, that such a good and great man as MILTON should not have been able to undertake the office of minister in it, when he had gone to the university with that design! With his sentiments of religious liberty, and the inalienable right of private judgment, and the sufficiency of the Scriptures alone for all purposes of doctrine and discipline, and especially of the sole headship of Jesus Christ in his church; would it not have been, I appeal to all unprejudiced minds, and even those of the Church of England, whether it would not have been for MILTON to have "subscribed slave," had he become a clergyman? And was it not more honourable to his own character, however injurious to the interests of the community at large, "to prefer a blameless silence before the office

* It was not long before the prelates had an opportunity of discovering how discreetly the queen would use this *jure divino* prerogative. Grindal having expostulated with her majesty, requesting her to mind *civil* matters, and leave the ecclesiastical to the bishops, was deprived, or, as the queen elegantly expressed it, she "*unfrocked him!*"

of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing?" Dr. Johnson ought to have given him credit too for having exempted those subscribing clergymen from the charge of *perjury*, "*who had consciences that could retch!*"

Dr. Johnson's questioning the *truth* of MILTON's statement, that the reason why he did not become a clergyman was, because he could not *ex animo subscribe* the Thirty-nine Articles; but that his chief objection was to the canons, is not creditable even to *his* liberality! He says:

"It seems more probable his objection related to *canonical obedience*: the thoughts of obedience, whether *canonical* or civil, raised his indignation."

The fact is, that he also objected to swear entire and uncompromising obedience to the *canons* as well as to the Articles: he refused "to subscribe slave, and take an oath withal," to observe human regulations in matters of religion. But does it follow, that because he would not voluntarily lay himself under an obligation to obey statutes which he was not otherwise bound to observe, that he felt repugnant to render the civil obedience which, as a subject, he owed to the state. Is it not perfectly compatible to object to submit to ecclesiastical domination, and to render cheerful obedience to constitutional laws? MILTON could distinguish, if Dr. Johnson could not, between *canonical* and *civil* obedience: he refused to submit himself to the former, but his life affords no instance of his objecting to the latter.

Let us suppose that MILTON, in the prospect of entering the establishment, even if he had not anticipated the possibility of becoming a bishop or archbishop, yet that he might have become a dean or batchelor of divinity and laws, he would of course first read over *seriously* (if he could have preserved his gravity) the following:

"*Articles of outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical.*

"First, That all archbishops and bishops do use and continue their accustomed apparel.

“ *Item*, That all deans of cathedral churches, masters of colleges, archdeacons, and other dignitaries in cathedral churches: doctors, bachelors of divinity and law, having any ecclesiastical living, shall wear, in their common apparel, *a tide gown, with sleeves straight at the hand, without any cuts in the same. And that also without any falling cape; and to wear tippets of sarcenet, as is lawful for them by that act of Parliament, Anno 24, Henrii Octavi.*

“ *Item*, That all doctors of physic, or of any other faculty, having any living ecclesiastical, or any other that may depend by the church one hundred marks, so to be esteemed by the fruits as tenths of their promotions; and all prebendaries whose livings be valued at twenty pound a year or upward, wear the same apparel.

“ *Item*, That they and all ecclesiastical persons, or other having any ecclesiastical living, *do wear the CAP* appointed by the Injunctions, and they *to wear* no *HAT* but in their journeying.

“ *Item*, That they in their journeying do wear their cloaks with sleeves put on, and like in fashion to their gowns, gards, welts, or cuts.

“ *Item*, That in their private houses and studies, they use their own liberty of comely apparel.

“ *Item*, That all *inferior* ecclesiastical persons shall wear *long gowns* of the fashion aforesaid, and *caps* as afore prescribed.

“ *Item*, That all poor parsons, vicars, and curates, do endeavour themselves to conform their apparel in like sort, so soon and as conveniently as their ability will serve to the same. Provided that their ability be judged by the bishop of the diocese. And if their ability will not suffer them to buy them *long gowns* of the form afore prescribed, that then they shall wear their *short gowns*, agreeable to the form before expressed.

“ *Item*, That all such persons as have been, or be, ecclesiastical, and serve not in the ministry, or have not accepted,

or shall refuse to accept, the oath of the Queen's Majesty, do from henceforth abroad wear none of the said apparel of the form and fashion aforesaid, but to go as mere laymen, till they be reconciled to obedience; and who shall obstinately refuse to do the same, that they be presented by the ordinary to the commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, and by them be reformed accordingly."*

Now, I respectfully ask those who know the honest and enlightened character of MILTON, that had he been resolved "to retch his conscience, by taking an oath withal," (which there can be no doubt Dr. Samuel Johnson, the moralist, would have recommended, as required from every obedient subject to the king,) is it likely that, for the sake of obtaining a living of twenty pounds per year, (and it was not likely that *such* a man as MILTON could have expected more under the archiepiscopal government of Laud,) that he would have consented to go "without his hat," and to "wear a *short gown*," that is, if the bishop of the diocese deemed he was not able, with twenty pounds a year, to buy a long one. I am fully persuaded that other and better reasons may be assigned, why MILTON refused to "subscribe slave," than because "the thoughts of obedience," properly understood, "whether canonical or civil, raised his indignation." It was not possible the noble mind of MILTON could have submitted to be bound by such ignoble fetters and chains.

"Canonical obedience," MILTON well knew, would demand implicit regard to a hundred and forty-one canons, besides seventeen passed in 1640, upon pain of being presented to "commissioners in causes ecclesiastical, and by them to be reformed accordingly;" or how could he have "subscribed slave" to this engagement? I shall not *openly* intermeddle with any artificers, occupations, as *covetously* to seek a gain thereby, having an ecclesiastical living to the sum of *twenty-six pounds, ten nobles*, or above, by the year."

* Sparrow's Articles, &c. p. 126, 127.

I can conjecture, too, the possibility of the honest and upright MILTON refusing to "retch his conscience" to take the "*Oath of Simony!*" I think it probable he might have balked too, when taking deacon's orders, to answer to the following question:—

"*The Bishop.* Will you *reverently obey your ORDINARY, and other chief ministers of the church*, and them to whom the government and charge is committed over you, following with a *glad mind* and *will their godly admonitions?*"*

Now would not MILTON have hesitated, before he had "retched his conscience," and have "subscribed slave, and took an oath withal," to say, "I will endeavour myself, the Lord being my helper?"—or might it not have entered his mind, "*Judas got thirty pieces of silver* for selling his *master*, but I am advised to sell my *conscience*, when it is possible I may only get in exchange for it twenty nobles a year!" Nothing can be more evident to my mind, than that Dr. Johnson, with all his blunt and unmannerly *Toryism* towards *Whigs*, had not the ability to comprehend the essential qualities of an honourable, conscientious mind, like that of MILTON.

Dr. Johnson, who doubtless hated MILTON for taking part with the Parliament against the king, and had therefore hastened home from the continent to take part in the national struggle for freedom, says:

"Let not our veneration for MILTON forbid us to look, with some degree of merriment, on great promises and small performance; on the man who hastens home, because his countrymen were contending for their liberty, and when he reaches the scene of action, vapours away his patriotism in a private boarding-school. This is the period of his life from which all his biographers seem inclined to shrink. They are unwilling that MILTON should be degraded to a schoolmaster; but since it cannot be denied that he taught boys, one finds out that he taught for nothing, and another that his motive was only zeal

* Ibid. p. 147.

for the propagation of learning and virtue; and all tell what they do not know to be true, only to excuse an act which no wise man will consider it as in itself disgraceful. His father was alive; his allowance was not ample; and he supplied his deficiencies by an honest and useful employment.”—P. 96.

Notwithstanding the closing sentence of this paragraph is an affected vindication of MILTON from the mean slanders of his opponents; yet what shall we say to the malignant inuendoes of Dr. Johnson as to “great promises and little performance?” Dr. Johnson is “willingly ignorant” of the means by which MILTON promoted the cause of civil and religious liberty. He himself thus describes his conduct: “Thinking a way might be opened to true liberty, I heartily engaged in the dispute.” Was it to “vapour away his patriotism,” when he employed his pen, immediately on his return, to write his two books “On Reformation,” against the Established Church?—His Reply to Usher?—Of Prelatical Episcopacy, &c.?—the Reason of Church Government, and other works, exposing tyranny and corruption in Church and State? If Dr. J. doubts whether MILTON rendered any assistance to the “good cause,” as it was called, let him account for it so satisfactorily, as by the admission that these writings contributed, more than the sword or bayonet, to all those astonishing results in eight years, to pull down the Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, to procure the abolition of the order of prelates, and the suppression of the Book of Common Prayer, and the downfall of tyranny! So far from shrinking from this period of his life, I avow my conviction, that it was on many accounts the most splendid part of it; because he wrote not only without the support or countenance of government, but in constant jeopardy of being the prey of Laud and his cringing sycophants. Most certainly, Dr. Johnson, MILTON’s “patriotism” was not “vapoured away.” Had it been less successful, I suspect that you would have been less malignant against him.

Dr. Johnson says, speaking of a pamphlet which MILTON published in 1651, entitled, "Considerations to remove Hirelings out of the Church:"

"The style of this piece is rough, and such, *perhaps*, was that of his antagonist. This roughness he justifies, by great examples, in a long digression. Sometimes he *tries* to be humorous! 'Lest I should take him for some chaplain in hand, some squire of the body to his prelate, one who serves not at the altar only, but at the court cupboard, he will bestow on us a pretty model of himself; and sets me out half a dozen ptisical mottoes, wherever he had them, hopping short in the measure of convulsion fits; in which labour, the agony of his wit having escaped narrowly, instead of well-sized periods, he greets us with a quantity of thumb-ring poesies.' And thus ends this section, or rather dissection, of himself. Such," says Dr. J. "is the controversial merriment of MILTON: his gloomy seriousness is yet more offensive. Such is his malignity, *that hell grows darker at his frown!*"—P. 102.

If any reader of MILTON'S works will produce any sentence equal in "malignity" to this of the *liberal*, and *cheerful*, and *witty* Dr. J., he will accomplish that which this dark, and gloomy, and serious moralist, has not dared to attempt. Lord Chatham said, in reply to Dr. Drummond, in 1773, who had exhibited accusations against the dissenting ministers of that period: "He who brings charges against others without proof, *defames.*" I charge Dr. J. with having, in this passage, committed the crime of wilful and deliberate *defamation!*

Dr. Johnson has another hit at MILTON: speaking of him after 1644,

"From this time, it is observed, that he became an enemy to the Presbyterians, whom he had favoured before. He that changes his party by his humour, is not more virtuous than he that changes it by his interest: he loves himself rather than truth."—P. 104.

But, unfortunately for Dr. Johnson's sage remarks, as every one knows, who knows any thing of MILTON'S life,

he did not favour the PURITAN side because they were *Presbyterians*, but because they took the side which himself had taken against *Prelacy*. Others with whom MILTON was at first associated, changed their avowed principles as to the rights of conscience, and therefore he became their enemy. It would have required more than the Herculean powers attributed to Dr. Johnson by his admirers, but which, in my opinion, have been strangely overrated, to have produced the slightest shadow of proof of those assertions. MILTON, as regarded his opinions on civil and religious liberty, never changed his party, either from humour or self-love.

In MILTON's exposure of the work called *Icon Basilike*, he mentioned a prayer taken from Sydney's *Arcadia*; and Dr. J., to throw the blame of hypocrisy from Charles, who was "all that was venerable and great," says:

"But as faction seldom leaves a man honest, however it may find him, MILTON is suspected of having *interpolated* the book!"—P. 107.

There have not been many instances of such a charge, without the shadow of evidence, and that too against one of the most honest men who ever employed his pen. No, Dr. J., MILTON was incapable of such palpable meanness and lies: *he* would not have been so degraded as to have even suspected another of such unmitigated folly and meanness!

But he has a still more grave charge against MILTON, even that of venality; as if "*a bribe*" could have *blinded his* eyes, even were there proof of its having been given, which there is not. Dr. J. says:—

"Cromwell had now dismissed the Parliament by the authority of which he had destroyed monarchy, and commenced monarch himself, under the title of Protector, but with kingly, and more than kingly power. That his authority was lawful never was pretended: he himself founded his right only upon necessity; but MILTON having now tasted the honey of public employment, would not return to hunger and philosophy, but

continuing to exercise his office under a manifest usurpation, betrayed to his power that liberty which he had defended. Nothing can be more just, than that rebellion should end in slavery; that he who had justified the murder of his king, for some acts which seemed to him unlawful, should now sell his services and his flatteries to a tyrant, of whom it was evident he could do nothing lawful."—P. 111.

Against these virulent charges let MILTON himself be heard, from the work which Dr. J. calls "flatteries to a tyrant."

"A Letter written to a gentleman in the country, touching the Dissolution of the late Parliament, and the Reason thereof.*

"SIR,

"Yours of the 27th past came safe, and with it your admiration of this *great change* which hath happened in the *dissolution* of the late Parliament, which I not at all wonder at; for as this *Island* hath afforded the greatest *Revolutions* that I think any memory can afford us, of any time or place, so I believe this to be the greatest of them: and so much the greater, as that it was done, in a manner, in an instant, without *contestation*, without *effusion* of blood, and for any thing I can perceive, without the least resentment of those whom it generally concerns. But when I shall put you in remembrance of what I have often enforced to you, (or to say better, discoursed, for the other is needlèss,) that the ways of *Providence* are *inscrutable*, and such as though, *unexpected* and *temerarius*, yet are carried on by such a strange and supreme kind of *design*, it will be easy for an *humble* and an *acquiring* mind to see, that by several invisible degrees, they bring forth their *last* and proposed intend-

* London: printed by F. Leach, for Richard Baddeley, at his shop within the Middle Temple Gate, 1653.

ments, yea, with those instruments which seem and intend to do the contrary.

“What man could have supposed, after the dissolution of the Parliament preceding the last, to have had another so soon? And for this last, who could have imagined that by *Act* it should have continued, much more gloriously have undertaken the defence of an *injured* people by open arms against an *oppressor*, and that these undertakings, with admirable variety of success, should have been crowned with the extirpation of tyranny, and the decollation of the person of a *tyrant*; that this great *Omniscience* should so bless the endeavours of a *Commonwealth*, now as I may say, in its very *swaddling-clouts*, as by them absolutely to reduce those dominions in three years, which a series of *proud* and lusty monarchs could not in six centurys do? Besides that *navall* opposition so fortunately and gloriously made against the greatest maritime enemy in Europe, or to speak with due acknowledgment, in the earth. Yet are these men, with all their vigorous and happy actions, suddenly dispersed like down blown off a thistle, and their power devolved into such hands, which as God hath made instrumentall in these strange *emanations* of his *Divine Will*, so we may humbly conceive, he intends to make further use of to the finishing of that *great* work, which by such visible signs he had made appeare he hath in hand for the glory of his name, the felicity of these nations, and I believe for the blessed alteration of all Europe.

“I am neither *Stoick* to believe that all things are *limited* by such a strong *chain of fate*, as that there is nothing left to man but *mechanically* to act; nor yet can I resign myself to an absolute belief of that saying of *Plato*, that ‘*To pray or fear is needless, it being out of our power to prevail by either*; but I shall modestly affirm it, that as I ever used to send up my prayers for the best things I could, upon the emergencies of the severall times, so upon the breaking out

and discovering of every hidden council of above by some illustrious accident, I have thrown my face upon the ground and submitted to it, never examining the *means* by which it was brought to pass, but the *end* to which it was brought; for I cannot deny unto you, that I have that reverence and resignation to my great Lord and Maker, that as I believe every dispensation affords to me in particular (be it bitter or be it sweet) a means of that grand consummation of felicity, which I am hereafter to endeavour and expect; so even in politick bodies, wherein so many dear to *Him* are concerned, he suffers not any turn or revolution, but, his *Omniscency* directs it, to the bettering or more happyfying of that people.

“And truly, in my apprehension, this is done at this season, and though you seem to stare at it, being unwilling to acknowledge that his hand is wise and powerful; yet methinks it were an argument worthy of an *atheist*, to say that *irregular* actions proceed from a carelessness *above*, than for a Christian to imagine that his designations in altering of the affairs of any state, should not tend to a bettering of that state, and that that power into which he puts it, is not, in my mind, more fit and proper to manage it than that from which he took it; for if a *fly* fall not to the earth without his *consent*, I beseech you, what shall we consider of his *care* in the dispositions of millions of *men*, things of his own image, without a high disbelief and contempt of his providence.

“Though I am not ignorant what some people ignorantly, or peradventure, *splenetically* and *maliciously* say, that He may suffer such things for the *punishment* of a people, and for their *reduction*: yet when I seriously consider it, that as nothing but good can flow from that pure and *simple* fountain of goodness, so are his ways of *providence*, so far as purblind we can see. He chastises *private* men differently from *public bodies*; some that he dearly *loves*, he *afflicts*,

purges, and *refines*, gives them heaviness for a day, that they may hereafter have an everlasting weight of glory. *States* he sometimes afflicts for their own sins, sometimes for those of their governors, but still out of his mercy considers those who are dear unto him, and searches out if there be *ten* good in *Sodom*, which if there be, he carries them out of their captivity into the land of promise.

"Out of these considerations, I, for my part, humbly submit to this mysterious and sudden action; and because I perceive you not so well satisfied with it, am content with what present reasons I can, and out of my little intelligence, and small understandings of things, to give you an account. And therefore we are to consider,

First, The means of government by the last Parliament; then the right of obedience to superior powers; and lastly, the effects, or events, that may come upon the late change."

He intimates that the Presbyterians were the most offended.

"Besides," says he, "the *Presbyterian* party, which is merely a *Jesuit* in a *Geneviah* cloak, but somewhat more unsupportable."

After having shown the illegal practices of some members of the Long Parliament, and the impropriety that their existence should be perpetual, he says:

"And therefore, since we are in a tempest, let us come to this rock, (to speak at the harshest,) rather than perish. For you cannot conceive but the worst government in the world is infinitely better than none at all, or to speak a little closely, an ill government well managed, people still judging of their *safety*, or *liberty*, or *civill* advantages, the effects not only of their government, but rulers.

"I know your objection beforehand, that the action of the *Lord Generall* in the Dissolution was somewhat *rough* and *barbarous*, and I shall not trouble you with a long answer. That, as to his person, as he hath in the field de-

clared himself one of the noblest *assertors* of our *liberty*, and as great an enlarger of our territories as ever was, so as to any particular *designs* of his own in point of *government*, it must be a *something* greater than *human*, that can discover how he either intended to *invade* us, or to make us a prey to any *ambition* of his. And therefore, if, upon this grand *Revolution*, he might appear to his enemies *passionate*, yet considering the *extremities* that *great* minds fall into, and the great *trust* committed to him, it will appear to be nothing but the discharge of that *duty* that lay upon him. To have done such a thing as, a *single* generall, wants neither example nor president, (but I would not injure an argument, by the by, which I could make good in a whole treatise.) For you may remember that of *Cæsar* to *Metellus* the *Tribune*: ‘*Young man*, (says he,) *’twas easier for me to say this than to do it;*’ a speech, says Sir Francis Bacon, both the proudest and the mildest that ever came out of the mouth of man. For at that *time* he was breaking open the sacred treasury, which by the laws was not to be broken open. But it is otherwise here: this was not a rash and precipitate act of his, [Cromwell,] but a *trust* and *result* of those under him. *’Twas* fit he that was most eminent should appear, and he as civilly, without noise and disturbance, did it. And therefore acting by their *votes*, and by their *consents*, it was *their* action as well as *his*; and it is no more *his* action, than it is the action of the *head* moved by tendons and muscles, which are parts of the body, and without which the head itself could not possibly at all move.

“So that here it comes to a question, Whether it be better for us to be in *slavery* under the name of *liberty*, or in *liberty* under the effects of *slavery*? I have told my thoughts before, in what condition I thought our liberty was, and I repeat it once again, that I think this present is the better expedient.

“I am no member of their councils, and by a late infirmity, lesse able to attend them;* yet, if I can believe any thing, or understand men, when they make the clearest *professions*, they intend all noble things, both as to the glory of our good God, the making happy this poor nation, settling the liberties of it, and reducing of us into one mind, and one way. But these are not only wishes of mine, but hopes and certain expectancies, and I believe they will convince these men to be liars that speak against them. But now I think I have put you to all the trials of your patience, which if my infirmity had not been, which confined me to my chamber, I could not have done; but I rely so much on your candor, and I believe you think so well of my veracity, as I want not the impudence to affirm myself, (however you take it,)

“Your affectionate Servant,

“N. L. L.

“*London, May 3, 1653.*”

Now let the candid reader say whether this is the language of flattery? whether there is any thing in it which contradicts any of his sentiments on former or later occasions? whether there is any proof of his having sold his services to a tyrant, because he “tasted of the honey of public employment, and would not return to hunger and philosophy?” Why, though MILTON’s office as Latin Secretary to the Council of State was most honourable, he did not receive more than two hundred a year it is said; not greatly superior to Dr. Johnson’s *pension*, for which he rendered no services to the commonwealth. Whatever difficulties MILTON might have felt in reconciling this bold step of Cromwell and his Council of Officers, with the rights which the

* It will be seen from this, that he had just now lost his eye-sight.

Long Parliament had received by the consent of the late king not to be dissolved but by their own consent, it is evident he considered it a choice of difficulties, whether tyranny should be exercised under the title of Parliament or of Protector: he thought, whether justly or not, that the people would have more liberty, and less slavery, under the latter than the former; and that even the government of the army was to be preferred to an inefficient power, which could protect the interests of the whole community.

Speaking of MILTON'S Latin Defence of the People of England, published in 1652, Dr. Johnson says:

“ In his Second Defence, he shows that his eloquence is not merely satirical: the rudeness of his invective is equalled by the grossness of his flattery. Cæsar, when he assumed the perpetual dictatorship, had not more servile and elegant flattery. A translation may show its servility, but its elegance is less attainable. Having exposed the unskilfulness or selfishness of the former government, ‘ We were left,’ says MILTON, ‘ to ourselves; the whole national interest fell into your hands, and subsists only in your abilities. To your virtue, overpowering and resistless, every man gives way, except some, who, without equal qualifications, aspire to equal honours, who envy the distinctions of merit greater than their own, and who have yet to learn, that in the coalition of human society, nothing is more pleasing to God, or more agreeable to reason, than that the highest mind should have the sovereign power. Such, Sir, are you by general confession; such are the things achieved by you, the greatest and most glorious of our countrymen, the director of our public councils, the leader of unconquered armies, the father of your country; for by that title does every good man hail you with sincere and voluntary praise.’—P. 113.

Now, I ask whether there is any appearance of *servility* or *flattery* in this eulogium of Cromwell? Is it not the truth? Could he have ventured to say so much of the Protector's qualities of mind, had it not been conceded by “every good man” in the country? Dr. J., in his dictionary,

defines *servility* to be "meanness, dependence, baseness;" and *flattery* to be "false praise, artful obsequiousness:" I appeal to every candid mind, whether his malignant heart has enabled him to convict MILTON of either of those mean vices? The noble-minded Paul said, "*They laid many false and grievous things to my charge, which they could not PROVE!*" What is there either mean, or base, or indicating dependence? What of false praise or artful obsequiousness? No, no, Dr. Johnson: you might have found evidence, had you been sufficiently impartial to have made the honest scrutiny, of *servility* and *flattery* much nearer home!

But Dr. Johnson has not yet expended all his venom. He says:

"As secretary to the Protector, he is supposed to have written the Declarations of the Reasons of a War with Spain. His agency was considered of great importance; for, when a treaty with Sweden was artfully suspended, the delay was publicly imputed to Mr. MILTON's indisposition; and the Swedish agent was provoked to express his wonder, that only one man in England could write Latin, and that man blind!"—P. 114.

And will the reader believe it, that this witty sentence of puerile dotardism all rests upon the following unimportant fact, stated in Whitelock's Memorials:

"May, 1656. The Swedish ambassador again complained of the delays in business, and that when he had desired to have the articles of his treaty put into Latin, according to the custom in treaties, that it was fourteen days they made him stay for the translation, and sent it to one Mr. MILTON, a blind man, to put them into Latin, who he said must use an *amanuensis* to read it to him, and that *amanuensis* might publish the matter of the articles as he pleased; and that it seemed strange to him, there should be none but a blind man capable of putting a few Articles into Latin. The employment of Mr. MILTON was excused to him, be

cause several other servants of the Council fit for that employment were then absent."

The malevolent feelings cherished towards MILTON appear in the following paragraph: it is founded upon a few lines at the commencement of the Seventh Book of *Paradise Lost*.

" Standing on earth, not rapt above the pole,
More safe I sing with mortal voice, unchang'd
To hoarse or mute, *though fallen on evil days,*
On evil days though fallen, and evil tongues,
In darkness and with dangers compass'd round,
And solitude; yet not alone, while thou
Visit'st my slumbers nightly, or when morn
Purples the east."

One might have expected that the situation of MILTON, reduced to blindness, and left in widowhood, would have called forth, even from Dr. Johnson, the expression of sympathy, at least have prevented his heaping upon him the contumelious charges of "ingratitude" and "injustice," the "asperity of reproach, and the brutality of insolence."

"MILTON being now cleared," says Dr. J., "from all effects of his disloyalty, had nothing required from him but the common duty of living in quiet, to be rewarded with the common right of protection; but this, which, when he sculked from the approach of the king, was perhaps more than he hoped, seems not to have satisfied him: for no sooner is he safe than he finds himself in danger, *fallen on evil tongues, and with darkness and with danger compassed round*. This darkness, had his eyes been better employed, had undoubtedly deserved compassion; but to add the mention of danger was ungrateful and unjust. He was fallen indeed on *evil days*: the time was come when regicides could no longer boast their wickedness. But of *evil tongues* for MILTON to complain, required impudence at least equal to his other powers; MILTON, whose warmest advocates must allow, that he never spared any severity of reproach, or brutality of rudeness."—P. 135.

My opinion is, that there is nothing in any of MILTON'S

works which will justify any of the above charges, even were they stripped of the foul-mouthed epithets by which they are ornamented and strengthened; nothing equal in "impudence" "asperity," or "brutality," to this passage from the modest, calm, and classical pen of Dr. Johnson. The charge against MILTON, of "*sculking* from the approach of the king," might have been brought, with equal propriety, against the Apostle Paul, when, for the purpose of preserving himself from being apprehended by Aretus the king, he consented to be let down over the wall of the city in a basket! Was this prudent precaution to secure his liberty, and probably his life, to have been a *sculker*, one who hid himself for shame or mischief?

"Richardson says, in his Notes on the above lines, p. 291, "This is explained by a secret piece of history, for which we have good authority. *Paradise Lost* was written after the Restoration, when MILTON apprehended himself to be in danger of his life. First from publick vengeance, (having been deeply engaged against the royal party,) and when safe by a pardon, from private malice and resentment. He was always in fear; much alone, and slept ill; when restless, he would ring for the person who wrote for him, (which was his daughter commonly,) to write what he had composed, which sometimes flowed with great ease."

The following paragraph is not quoted for its malignity, but its inaccuracy. Speaking of "*Paradise Regained*," Dr. Johnson says:

"He could not, as *Elwood relates*, endure to hear *Paradise Lost* preferred to *Paradise Regained*."—P. 141.

Now, *Elwood relates nothing like it!* Yet, upon this mistake, the Dr. makes these remarks:

"Many causes may vitiate a writer's judgment of his own works. On that which has cost him much labour he sets a high value, because he is unwilling to think he has laboured in vain.

What is produced with toilsome efforts is considered with delight, as a proof of vigorous faculties and fertile invention; and the last work, whatever it be, has necessarily most of the grace of novelty. MILTON, however it happened, had this prejudice, and had it to himself."—P. 141.

Dr. Johnson, speaking of his last work, says:

"His polemical disposition again revived. He had now been safe so long that he forgot his fears, and published 'A Treatise of true Religion, Heresy, Schism, Toleration, and the best Means to prevent the growth of Popery.' But this little work is modestly written, with respectful mention of the Church of England, and an appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles. His principle of toleration is, agreement in the sufficiency of the Scriptures; and he extends it to all who, whatever their opinions are, profess to derive it from the sacred books. The Papists appeal to other testimonies, and are therefore, in his opinion, not to be permitted the liberty of either publick or private worship; for though they plead conscience, '*We have no warrant,*' he says, '*to regard conscience, which is not grounded in Scripture.*' Those who are not convinced by his reasons, may be perhaps delighted with his wit. 'The term *Roman Catholick* is,' he says, '*one of the Pope's Bulls: it is particular, universal, or catholick schismatick.*' He has, however, something better. As the best preservative against Popery, he recommends the diligent perusal of the Scriptures, a duty from which he warns the busy part of mankind not to think themselves excused."—P. 142.

One would almost think that the "respectful mention" made by MILTON of the Church of England, and "the appeal to the Thirty-nine Articles," were such an atonement for all his former misdeeds in having exposed the errors of its constitution, and the pride of its bishops, that even the implacability of Johnson's mind had been placated, and his fierce wrath removed. What he has said upon those topics is as follows: "With good and pious reasons, therefore, all Protestant churches, with one consent, and particularly the Church of England, in her Thirty-nine Articles, and elsewhere, maintain these two points, as the main principles of true

religion, that the rule of true religion is the word of God only, and that their faith ought not to be an implicit faith; that is to believe though as the church believes, against or without express authority from Scripture." In confirmation of this statement, he refers to the Sixth Article, entitled, "Of the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for Salvation." The Nineteenth, entitled, "Of the Church;" and the Twentieth, in so far, of course, as it relates to his subject, viz. "It is not lawful for the church to ordain any thing contrary to God's word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another," &c. That MILTON should have appealed in his old age, and respectfully too, to the Articles of the Church of England, simply on the ground of her *Protestantism*, is not at all at variance with his attacks upon her *prelates*, for their persecuting other Christians, when he wrote his immortal exposures of those things in which, notwithstanding her professed Reformation, she resembled the Church of Rome. But Dr. Johnson either could not, or would not see, the difference of his expressing his approbation of those principles which are purely Protestant, when writing against Papists; and the reasons which he assigned why he could not *ex animo* subscribe to other things in the same articles which he considered to be as unscriptural as similar ones in the Church of Rome: there is a very wide difference between writing freely of her excellencies, and "subscribing slave," with an oath into the bargain, to her acknowledged defects.

Dr. Johnson will not suffer his ashes to rest undisturbed:—

"His widow, who after his death retired to Nampton in Cheshire, and died about 1729, is said to have reported that he lost two thousand pounds by entrusting it to a scrivener; and that in the general depredation upon the church, he had grasped an estate of about sixty pounds a year, belonging to Westminster

Abbey, which, like other shares of the plunder of rebellion, he was afterwards obliged to return."—P. 145.

And so, Dr. Johnson, because his widow "is said to have reported" this strange story, you have thought fit to give it the sanction of your authority that "he took a share in the plunder of rebellion!" Would any man, who had a grain of modesty, have made such a spiteful charge, without better evidence than that of his widow having reported, "it is said, he had *grasped* an estate of about sixty pounds a year, belonging to Westminster Abbey!"

Dr. Johnson, in the following remarks, has not perhaps mixed up so large a portion of his *gall*, though he has fallen into the common errors of all his biographers; who have concluded, that because he was not seen in the street going to church with a prayer-book under his arm, and because he did not ring a bell to call his household to family prayer, have concluded that he never worshipped God either publicly or privately!!

"His theological opinions," says Dr. J. "are said to have been first Calvinistical; and afterwards, perhaps, when he began to hate the Presbyterians, to have tended towards Arminianism. In the mixt questions of theology and government, he never thinks he can recede far enough from popery or prelacy; but what Bandius says of Erasmus seems applicable to him, *magis habuit quod fugeret, quam quod sequeretur*. He had determined rather what to condemn; than what to approve. He has not associated himself with any denomination of Protestants; we know rather what he was not, than what he was. He was not of the Church of Rome; he was not of the Church of England."—P. 147.

But there were a vast many *Protestant* congregational churches, with which he might have associated himself, and I doubt not but he did, at least as a devout worshipper, though he has not left any record of his having done so. The fact is, that as to the peculiar *principles* of the Baptists, he was associated with them: he was reckoned among them

in 1644, at which time there were of Calvinists at least seven separate congregations. I know not to which of these he belonged; but I think it fair to conclude, he was known to have united himself to one of them, or how could Dr. Featly have attributed his Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce to the Baptists? As to his principles of church government, they were *congregational*; and these are held equally by *Baptists* and *Independents*. In 1661, we find Ephraim Pagit reckoning him as an Independent, which he would not have done, had he not been known to belong to those whom Pagit considered sectaries. I suppose he was not a member of any congregational church after the early period of his life; as I conjecture he might have been excluded from Baptist church, for having published, in his work on 'The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce;' principles which would procure the expulsion of even a MILTON now, and which nothing but a public retraction of them would be sufficient to procure his being restored.

Dr. Johnson, having laid the foundation of his remarks on the sand, proceeds to erect a castle in the air.

"To be of no church is dangerous. Religion, of which the rewards are distant, and which is animated only by Faith and Hope, will glide by degrees out of the mind, unless it be invigorated and reimpresed by external ordinances, by stated calls to worship, and the salutary influence of example."—P. 147.

This well applies to the form of "godliness," the only religion of which it appears Dr. J. knew any thing; but not to "the power of godliness," respecting his knowledge of which, MILTON, by his writings and by his holy life has afforded abundant evidence. Dr. J. proceeds:

"MILTON, who appears to have had full conviction of the truth of Christianity, and to have regarded the Holy Scriptures with the profoundest veneration, to have been untainted by any heretical opinions, and to have lived in a confirmed belief of the immediate and occasional agency of Providence, yet grew

old *without any visible worship*. In the distribution of his hours *there was no hour of prayer, either solitary or with his household : omitting publick prayer, he omitted all.*”—P. 147.

Were there ever such gratuitous assertions and charges of atheism preferred upon such groundless suppositions? I admit that he “omitted the publick prayers” of the Established Church: he did not say after the priest, either in the petitions of the Liturgy, or the sublime chantings of the cathedral service; but is this a sufficient ground for the conclusion, that therefore “he omitted all prayer to God?” I doubt not but Dr. Johnson must have been acquainted with literary men among the Protestant dissenters, whom even he would not have placed with atheists. And as to his not having “any hour for solitary prayer,” how was that to be ascertained? He might, if I may be forgiven the solecism, have enjoyed solitary prayer in the midst of his secular employments, or his intercourse with his friends and family. Would Dr. J. have excluded all those who belong to the Society of Friends from the character of Christian, because they have in their families “no hour of prayer, either solitary or with their household?” Would he have said of William Penn, or Richard Reynolds, not to mention many besides, who have blessed the world with their patriotism and philanthropy, that “omitting publick prayers, they omitted all.”

But let us hear this inconsistent dogmatizer declaim further on a subject of which he was not capable of forming a correct idea:

“Of this omission, the reason has been sought upon a supposition which ought never to be made, that men live with their own approbation, and justify their conduct to themselves. Prayer certainly was not thought superfluous by him, who represents our first parents as praying acceptably in the state of innocence, and efficaciously after the fall. That he lived without prayer can hardly be affirmed: his studies and meditations were an habitual prayer. The neglect of it in his family was

probably a fault for which he condemned himself, and which he intended to correct, but that death, as too often happens, intercepted his reformation!"—P. 148.

If this language be applied to the pious and evangelical MILTON, it is arrant nonsense: if it be considered the ebullitions of the accusing conscience of the formal and pharisaical Johnson, it will probably appear correct.

Let the reader judge, from the two following quotations from *Paradise Lost*, whether MILTON undervalued spiritual, evangelical prayer:

" Thus at their shady lodge arrived, both stood,
Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd
That God that made both sky, air, earth, and heaven,
Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
And starry sky. Thou also mad'st the night,
Maker Omnipotent——

* * * * *

This said, unanimous, *and other rites*
Observing none, but adoration pure,
Which God likes best, into their inmost bower
Handed they went."

" So spake our father penitent, nor Eve
Felt less remorse: they forthwith to the place
Repairing where he judg'd them, prostrate fell
Before him reverent, and both confess'd
Humbly their faults, and pardon begg'd, with tears
Watering the ground, and with their sighs the air
Frequenting, sent from hearts contrite, in sign
Of sorrow unfeign'd, and humiliation meek.

* * * * *

Thus they in loveliest plight repentant stood
Praying, for from the mercy seat above
Prevenient grace descending had removed
The stony from their hearts, and made new flesh
Regenerate grow instead, that sighs now breath'd
Unutterable, which the Spirit of prayer
Inspir'd, and wing'd for heaven with speedier flight
Than loudest oratory."

End of the Tenth, and beginning of the Eleventh Books.

Let us hear Dr. J. on another part of MILTON's character:

"His political notions were those of an acrimonious and surly republican, for which it is not known that he gave any better reason, than that a popular government was the most frugal; for the trappings of a monarchy would set up an ordinary commonwealth. It is surely very shallow policy, that supposes money to be the chief good; and even this without considering that the support and expense of a court is, for the most part, only a particular kind of traffick, by which money is circulated without any national impoverishment."—P. 148.

It is true that MILTON has pleasantly assigned the reason quoted by Johnson; but that he never gave a better is a most silly statement, and I appeal to his writings as my proof. And must it not have been "very shallow" casuistry, to have inferred from his notions of a republican government being the most economical, that his notions were those of an acrimonious and surly republican? No, Dr. J.; he certainly objected to *monarchy* and to an *oligarchy*, but he would not have objected to an *aristocracy*, as being, in some cases, to be preferred to a *democracy*. Nor was he "surly" or "acrimonious:" let him be placed in contrast with the *smiling* and *milk-of-human kindness* Dr. J., and then let the world judge which of them deserved the application of these offensive terms, the moderate *republican*, or the ultra supporter of jure divino monarchy!

But Dr. J. has not done with MILTON yet: his ability for abusing a republican was pre-eminent; nor has he ceased till he has expended all the poisoned arrows of his quiver at the object of his malignity.

"MILTON's republicanism was, I am afraid, founded in an envious hatred of greatness, and a sullen desire of independence, in petulance impatient of control, and pride disdainful of superiority. He hated monarchs in the state, and prelates in the church; for he hated all whom he was required to obey. It is to be suspected, that his predominant desire was to destroy rather than establish, and that he felt not so much the love of liberty, as repugnance to authority,"—P. 148.

To repel these malignant assertions, unsupported by the least proof, would be "to answer a fool according to his folly," and I should appear "a fool like unto him." I shall therefore adopt the language of the Psalmist, and say, "*What shall be done unto thee, and what shall be given to thee, THOU FALSE TONGUE!*"

Again, says Dr. J.

"It has been observed, that they who most loudly clamour for liberty, do not most liberally grant it. What we know of MILTON's character in domestic relations is, that he was severe and arbitrary. His family consisted of women; and there appears something like a Turkish contempt of females, as subordinate and inferior beings. That his own daughters might not break the ranks, he suffered them to be depressed by a mean and penurious education. He thought women made only for obedience, and men only for rebellion."—P. 149.

How far the publications of MILTON, to prove he had the right to put away his wife, because she was not of an amiable, uniting temper, may support the above caricature, let the reader judge. I have given my opinion that he was erroneous in his principles, and unwise in his conduct on that subject. That he has treated females with a sort of "Turkish contempt, as subordinate and inferior beings," Dr. J., one is ready to think, must have been conscious that he was uttering a malicious falsehood: no one can produce the passages from his work which afford a shadow of evidence in support of the calumnious charges. Speaking of his death, Dr. Johnson admits, with great impartiality, "His funeral was very splendidly and numerously attended." How could this have been, sapient Sir, if MILTON was the domestic monster, and the public, restless barbarian, which you have represented him to be? An unbought funeral train of mourners is about as good a test of the real character of any person as can be supplied! And Dr. J. knew, if he would have stated, that no one was more esteemed in life, or lamented at his death, than MILTON, by that class

of society, whether in higher or more humble life, whose approbation is worth enjoying. One word more from Dr. J. "Upon his grave there is supposed to have been no memorial; but in our time a monument has been erected in Westminster Abbey—*To the Author of Paradise Lost*—by Mr. Benson, who has, in the inscription, bestowed more words upon himself than upon MILTON."—P. 143.

"When the inscription for the monument of Philips, in which he was said to be *solī Miltoni secundus*, was exhibited to Dr. Sprat, then Dean of Westminster, he refused to admit it; the name of MILTON was, in his opinion, too detestable to be read on the wall of a building dedicated to devotion."—P. 143.

And there is no doubt but what Dr. J. thought the sacred walls of Westminster Abbey would have been desecrated by the odious and execrable name of the author of *Paradise Lost*. He says:

"Atterbury, who succeeded him, being author of the inscription, permitted its reception. 'And such is the change of public opinion,' said Dr. Gregory, from whom I heard this account, 'that I have seen erected in the church a statue of that man whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls!'"—P. 143.

Was there ever any thing so unaccountable, that after prejudice had time to remove the film from the eye of the public, that it should have seen excellencies in the character of MILTON which the purblind, bat's-eyes of Dr. Gregory and Dr. Johnson could never discover; but "none are so blind as those who won't see!"

I consider that Johnson's Life of MILTON is a disgrace to the "Lives of the Poets." And that instead of having tarnished the lustre of MILTON's character, he has erected a permanent monument to his honour and reputation, as a public spirited, noble-minded Briton, the consistent and fearless defender of civil and religious liberty—unbribed and *unpensioned*! Johnson has by writing it deserved, if not a monument, yet a flat

stone to his own memory, on which may be inscribed, "Sacred to the memory of a mean detractor of virtue which he would not appreciate, of principles he could not comprehend, and of piety which he did not imitate—the contracted Tory pensioner, dictionary compiler, high-church bigot, and semi-popish reviler, Dr. Samuel Johnson!"

ROYAL PROCLAMATION.

No. II.

“By the King:” [The Royal Arms prefixed.]

“A Proclamation, for calling in and suppressing of two books by JOHN MILTON; the one entitled, *Johannis Miltoni Angli pro Propuli Anglicano Defensio, contra Claudii Anonymi alias Salmasii Defensiorum Regiam*; and the other in answer to a book entitled, *The Portraiture of his Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings*; and also a third book, entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written by John Goodwin.

“Charles R.

“Whereas JOHN MILTON, late of Westminster, in county of Middlesex, hath published in print two several books, [repeating the titles as above,] in both which are contained sundry treasonable passages against us and our government, and most impious endeavours to justify the horrid and unmatched murder of our late dear father of glorious memory.

“And whereas *John Goodwin*, late of Coleman Street, London, Clerk, hath also published in print a book entitled, *The Obstructors of Justice*, written in defence of his said late majesty, And whereas the said JOHN MILTON and *John*

Goodwin are both fled, or so obscure themselves, that no endeavours used for their apprehension can take effect, whereby they might be brought to legal trial, and deservedly receive condign punishment for their treasons and offences.

"Now, to the end that our good subjects may not be corrupted in their judgments, with such wicked and traiterous principles, as are dispersed and scattered throughout the forementioned books, we, upon the motion of the Commons in parliament now assembled, do hereby straightly charge and command all and every person and persons whatsoever, who live in any city, borough, or town incorporate, within this our kingdom of *England*, and dominion of *Wales*, and town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, in whose hands any of these books are, or hereafter shall be, that they, upon pain of our high displeasure, and the consequence thereof, do forthwith, upon publication of this our command, or within ten days immediately following, deliver, or cause the same to be delivered, to the mayor, bailiff, or other chief officer or magistrate," &c. [Then follow orders to seize upon such books, and to prevent their being reprinted or circulated.]

"Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 13th day of August, in the twelfth year of our reign, 1660.
 "London, printed by John Bill and Christopher Barker, Printers to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1660."

No. III.

Extracted from a work, entitled, "Some Account of the Life and Writings of John Milton, by the Rev. John Henry Todd, M.A. F.A.S. Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty. Derived principally from Documents in his Majesty's State Paper Office. Now first published, 1826.

The following is copied from Section III. of the
above work, p. 107.

THE book of Orders of Council of State, during the usurpation, found in his Majesty's State Paper Office, presents the poet addressed by a Committee, appointed for the purpose of inviting him into office about six weeks after the martyrdom of the king.

"1648—9. March 13. Ordered, That Mr. Whitelocke, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Lisle, Earl of Denbigh, Mr. Martyn, Mr. Lisle, or any two of them, be appointed a Committee to consider what alliances the crown hath formerly had with Forreigne States, and what those States are; and how farr they should be continued, and upon what grounds; and in what manner applications and addresses should be made for the said continuance.

"That it be referred to the same Committee *to speake with Mr. Milton*, to know if he will be employed as Secretary for the Forreigne Tongues, and to report to the Councill.

"1648-9.—March 15. Ordered, That Mr. JOHN MILTON be employed as Secretary for Forreigne Tongues to this Councill, and that he have the same salarie, which Mr. Wickerly formerly had for the same service.

"1648-9.—March 22. Ordered, That the letters now read, to be sent to Hamburgh, in behalf of the company of Merchant Adventurers, be approved, and that they be translated into Latin by Mr. MILTON.

"1649.—March 26. Ordered, That the letters now brought in by Mr. MILTON, to the Senate of Hamburgh, be approved; and that Mr. Isaac Lee, Deputy of the Company of Merchant Adventurers there, shall be appointed Agent for delivering them.

1649.—March 26. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON be appointed to make some observations upon a paper lately printed, called "*Old and New Chains*."*

"1649.—March 28. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON be appointed to make some observations of interest, which is new amongst the several designers against the peace of the Commonwealth, and that it be made ready to be printed, with the papers out of Ireland, which the House hath ordered to be printed.

"1649.—May 18. Ordered, That the French letters, given into the House by the Dutch Ambassadors, be translated by Mr. MILTON; and the rest of the Letters now in the House, be sent for and translated.

"1649.—May 30. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON take the papers forthwith to Mr. John Lee, and examine them, to see what may be found in them.

"1649.—June 23. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON doe exa-

* John Lilburn was the author of this book, and was on account of it committed to prison on the suspicion of high-treason. Judge Jenkins used to say of him in regard to his litigious disposition, that if the world was emptied of all but John Lilburn, Lilburn would quarrel with John, and John would quarrel with Lilburn.

mine the papers of *Pragmaticus*,* and report what he finds in them to the Councill.

"1649.—November 12. Ordered, That Sir John Hipposly be spoken to, that MR. JOHN MILTON may be accommodated with those lodgings that he hath at Whitehall.

"1649. — November 19. Ordered, That MR. MILTON shall have the lodgings that were in the hands of Sir John Hipposly, in Whitehall, for his accomodation as being Secretary to the Councill for Forreigne Tongues.

"1649.—November 29. Ordered, That a letter be written to the Commissioners of the Customs, to desire them to give order, that a very strict search may be made of such ships as come from the Netherlands for certaine scandalous bookes; which are there printed, against the government of this Commonwealth, entitled *Defensio Regia*, and which are designed to be sent over hither; and to desire them that if any upon search shall be found, that they may be sent up to the Councill of State, without suffering any of them to be otherwise disposed of upon any pretence whatever.

"That a warrant be directed to the Masters and Wardens of the Company of Stationers, to the purpose aforesaid.

"That the like letter be directed to Mr. Thomas Bendish, an officer in the port of Yarmouth, to take care of searching for the aforesaid book, which is expected to come out of Holland.

"1649–50.—January 8. Ordered, That one hundred pounds be paid Mr. Thomas Waring for his pains and charge in compiling a booke containing several examinations, of the *Bloody Massacre* in Ireland.

"That MR. MILTON doe confer with some printers or stationers concerning the speedy printing of this book, and

* The *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, a newspaper in support of Charles the Second, April 24, 1649.

give an account of what he hath done therein to the Council.

"That Mr. MILTON doe prepare something in answer to the book of Salmasius, and when he hath done itt, bring itt to the Council.

"1651.—May 20. Ordered, That Mr. Durie doe proceed in translating Mr. MILTON's book, written in answer to the late King's booke; and that it be left to Mr. Frost to give him such reward for his pains, as he shall thinke fitt.

"1650.—June 22. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON doe goe to the Committee of the Armie, and desire them to send to this Conncell the book of Examinations, taken about the risings in Kent and Essex.

"1650.—June 25. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON doe peruse the Examinations taken by the Armie concerning the insurrections in Essex; and that he doe take heads of the same, to the end the Council may judge what is to be taken into consideration.

"1650.—June 26. Ordered, That the declaration of the Parliament against the Dutche, be translated into Latine by Mr. MILTON, into Dutch by Mr. Haak,* and into French by Monsieur Augier.

"1650.—August 14. Ordered, That Mr. Thomas Goodwin, Mr. Bifield, Mr. Bond, Mr. Nye, Mr. Durye, Mr. Frost, or Mr. MILTON, or any three of them, of which Mr. Frost, or Mr. MILTON to be one, be appointed to view and to inventory all the words, writings, and papers whatsoever, belonging to the Assembly of the Synod, to the end they may not be embezzled, and may be forthcoming for the use of the Commonwealth.

"1650.—December 23. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON doe print the Treatise which he hath written, in answer to a

This learned man translated the first six books of *Paradise Lost* into High Dutch.

late book written by Salmasius against the proceedings of the Commonwealth.*"

It has been said, but erroneously there is no doubt, that MILTON received from the Council £1000 for writing this book. I have expressed a doubt, in a former part of this work, as to the accuracy of this statement, and it is confirmed by the following entry:—

"1651.—June 18. Ordered, That thanks be given to MR. MILTON on behalf of the Commonwealth, for his good services done in writing an answer to the booke of Salmasius, written against the proceedings of the Commonwealth of England." 'But,' says Mr. Todd, 'all this is crossed over, and nearly three lines following obliterated, in which the accurate Mr. Lemon says *a grant of money* was made to MILTON.' Admitting this to be the fact, is it not reasonable to conclude that MILTON refused to accept the grant, because after the cancelled passage, the regular entry thus follows: "The Council taking notice of the manie good services performed by MR. JOHN MILTON, the Secretarie for Forreigne Languages, to this State and Commonwealth, *particularie for his book in vindication of the Parliament and people of England, against the calumnies and invectives of Salmasius*, have thought fitt to declare their resentment and good acceptance of the same; and that the thanks of the Council be returned to MR. MILTON, and their sense expressed in that behalf."

To return to the regular entries:

"1650-1.—February 10. Ordered, That the way of meeting with the Publique Minister of Portugall, be by a Committee of the Council, consisting of such a number as the Council shall think fitt in reference to the quality of such Minister.

"That MR. MILTON, the Secretary for Forreigne Languages, bee appointed to attend the Committee at their

* MILTON's book was burnt at Paris and Toulouse.

meetings; and that Joseph Frost be employed for such writing as the Committee shall have occasion for in this business.

" 1650.—Feb. 18. Ordered, that Mr. MILTON be Secretary for Forreigne Languages, for the time of the Councill.

" 1650-1.—March 5. Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee of Examinations, to viewe over Mr. MILTON's booke*, and give order for re-printing it, if they thinke fitt.

" 1652.—Nov. 15. Ordered, that it be referred to Mr. Thurloe, to consider of a fitt reward to be given to Mr. Durie, for his pains in translating into French the book written by Mr. MILTON, in answer to that of the late king's, entitled " His Meditations."

" 1653.—April 1. Ordered, that the Commissioners of the Customs doe permit certain books written by Mr. MILTON, in answer to the booke called the late king's, being translated into French, to bee transported into France custom free."

We now return to the period immediately subsequent to the publication of MILTON's *Iconoclastes*.

" 1649-50.—Feb. 2. Ordered, that orders be sent to Mr. Baker, Mr. Challenor, Mr. Wickerlyn, Mr. Willingham, or any others who have in their hands any public papers belonging to the Commonwealth, to deliver them to Mr. MILTON, to be layd up in the paper-office for publique service; and that Mr. Baker be appointed to order those papers, that they may be ready for use.

" 1649-50.—Feb. 18. Ordered, that Mr. MILTON, Secretary for Forreigne Languages; Sergeant Dundee, Sergeant-at-Arms; Mr. Frost, the younger, assistant to Mr. Frost, the Secretary, and all the clerks formerly employed under Mr. Frost, as also the messengers, and all other officers employed by the Councill last yeare, and not dismissed, shall

* *The Iconoclastes*. Second Edition.

be again entertained with the same employments, and shall receive the same salary which was appointed them the yeare past.

" 1649-50.—Feb. 23. Memorandum, that MR. JOHN MILTON, Secretary for the Forreigne Languages; Mr. Edward Dendie, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Mr. Gwalter Frost, the younger, assistant to the Secretary, did this day take the engagement following: 'I being nominated by this Council to bee, for the yeare to come, do promise in the sight of God; that through his grace I will be faithful in the performance of the trust committed unto mee; and not reveale or disclose any thing, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or resolved upon in the Council, without the command, direction, or allowance of the Council.'"

" 1650.—March 30. Ordered, that it be recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale, to give order for the preparing of a commission to Mr. Richard Bradshaw, who is to be employed resident from this Commonwealth to the senate of Hamburg, according to the order of Parliament, 'That a credential letter be likewise prepared for him by MR. MILTON.'

" 1650.—May 6. Ordered, that Mr. MILTON doe attend the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale, with the papers given in by Dr. Walsall, concerning the goods of *felos de se*: to whom it is referred, to take such course therein, for the advantage of the Commonwealth, as they shall think fitt.

" 1650.—June 14. Ordered, that MR. MILTON shall have a warrant to the trustees and contractors, for the sale of the king's goods, for the furnishing of his lodging at Whitehall with some hangings.*

* The copy of this warrant is inserted after this order, bearing date June 18, 1650. "These are to will and require you forthwith, upon sight hereof, to deliver unto MR. JOHN MILTON, or to whom he shall appoint, such hangings as shall be sufficient for furnishing his lodgings at Whitehall, of the late king's goods.

" *To the Trustees and Contractors.*"

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* The *Iconoclastes*. Second Edition.

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" 1649-50.—Feb. 23. Memorandum, that MR. JOHN MILTON, Secretary for the Forreigne Languages; Mr. Edward Dendie, Sergeant-at-Arms, and Mr. Gwalter Frost, the younger, assistant to the Secretary, did this day take the engagement following: 'I being nominated by this Council to bee, for the yeare to come, do promise in the sight of God, that through his grace I will be faithful in the performance of the trust committed unto mee; and not reveale or disclose any thing, in whole or in part, directly or indirectly, that shall be debated or resolved upon in the Council, without the command, direction, or allowance of the Council.'"

" 1650.—March 30. Ordered, that it be recommended to the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seale, to give order for the preparing of a commission to Mr. Richard Bradshaw, who is to be employed resident from this Commonwealth to the senate of Hamburgh, according to the order of Parliament, 'That a credential letter be likewise prepared for him by MR. MILTON.'

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* The *Iconoclastes*. Second Edition.

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" *To the Trustees and Contractors.*"

1651. March 27. Ordered, That the letters that are to be sent to the ambassador of Spain, shall be sent unto him by Mr. MILTON.

1651. March 28. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON doe translate the *Intertrams* Magnas, which he is to have from Sir Henry Vane.

1651. April 4. Ordered, That such dispatches as come to this Council, from foreigne parts, in any foreigne tongue, are to be translated for the use of the Council.

1651. April 10. Ordered, that Mr. Vaux be sent unto, to let him know that he is to forbear the removing Mr. Milton out of his lodgings in Whitehall, until Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir Gilbert Pickering shall have spoken to the committee concerning that business.

1651. April 23. Ordered, that the paper, now read, to be sent to the minister of Portugall, be translated into Latin, and the English copy to be signed by Mr. Frost, and sent unto him.

1651. May 16. Ordered, That Mr. MILTON doe repaire to the publique minister of Portugall, and desire of him, from the Council, a list of the names of such persons as he desires to come with him as his retinue, that the same may be affixed to his passe.

1651. May 30. Ordered, that Mr. MILTON doe translate the petition of Alderman Dethick, and the letter of the Council to the Spanish ambassador in Latin, that the same may be sent to the said ambassador according to former order.

1651. June 11. Ordered, that Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Sir John Trevor, Mr. Alderman Allen, and Mr. Chaloner, or any two of them, be a committee, to goe from this Council, to the Committee of Parliament for Whitehall, to acquaint them with the case of Mr. MILTON, in regard of their positive orders for his speedy removal out of his lodgings at Whitehall; and to endeavour with them, that the said Mr. MILTON may be continued where he is.

in regard of the employment which he is in to the Council, which necessitates him to reside neere the Council." *1651-2*

From June till December, 1651, no entry relating to him occurs in the Council book. On the 19th of the latter month it is ordered, "*That Mr. Milton be continued Secretarie for Forreigne Languages to this Council for the yeare to come.*" In this interval of six months he was suffering under the approach of total blindness. Notwithstanding we find,

"1651-2.—Jan. 2. Ordered, that Mr. MILTON doe prepare a letter in Latin, of the substance of what was now read here in English, to be sent to the Duke of Tuscany, to be brought to the Council, to be there read, for the approbation of the Council." *1651-2*

"1651-2.—Jan. 23. Ordered, that Mr. MILTON doe make a translation of the paper this day sent into the Council, from the Lords Ambassadors of the High and Mighty Lords the States-Generall of the United Provinces; which the Committee for Foreign Affairs are to take into consideration, and prepare an answer thereto, to be reported to the Council." *1651-2*

"1651-2.—March 3. Ordered, that the letter now read, which is prepared to be sent to the queen of Sweden, along with the agent intended to be sent thither, be humbly represented to the Parliament; and the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke is desired to doe it accordingly, and that the copie of this letter be translated into Latine." *1651-2*

"1651-2.—March 8. Ordered, that the remainder of the articles to be offered to the British Ambassadors, which were not taken up this day, be taken up to-morrow in the afternoon, the first business." *1651-2*

"That soe many of the articles as are already passed, bee sent to Mr. MILTON, to be translated into Latine." *1651-2*

"1651-2.—March 9. Ordered, that the articles now read, in answer to the thirty-six articles offered to the Council by the Dutch Ambassadors, be translated into Latine by Thursday next, in the afternoon." *1651-2*

" 1652.—March 31. Ordered, that the paper now prepared to be given, in answer to the Spanish Ambassadour, bee approved, translated, signed, and sent to him.

" That MR. MILTON doe translate the said paper, out of English into Latine, to be sent along, as a copie.

" 1652.—April 7. Ordered, that the answer to the King of Denmarke, now read, be approved of, and translated into Latine by Mr. Weekerlyn.

" 1653.—April 16. Ordered, that the paper now read, to be sent unto the Dutch Ambassadour, be approved of, and sent to MR. MILTON, to be translated into Latine.

" 1652.—April 21. Ordered, that the Latine letter, now read, to be sent to the Duke of Savoy, be approved, fair written, signed, and sent, and delivered to the parties concerned.

" 1652.—April 27. Ordered, that the paper which was read, in answer to the last papers from the Dutch Ambassadors, be approved of, fair written, and signed.

" That the Latine translation of the paper now read, be approved, and sent along with the other.

" 1652.—April 28. Ordered, that the paper now read, to be given to the Dutch Ambassadors by the commissioner appointed to treat with them, be approved of; and that it bee translated into Latine, the English copie signed, and both Latine and English copie are to be kept until they shall be called for by the Lord Commissioner Whitelocke.

" 1652.—May 26. Ordered, that the answer to the paper delivered unto the Commissioners of the Councill, appointed on that behalfe, by Monsieur Appleborn, publique minister of the Queen of Sweden, now reported to the Councill from the Committee of Forreigne affairs, be translated into Latine, and humbly represented to Parliament for their approbation.

" 1652.—July 6. " Ordered, that the articles now read, and reported from the Committee of Forreigne affairs, in answer to the proposals of the Danish Ambassadors; and also the articles prepared to be given to the said Ambassadors

from the Councill, bee approved of and translated into Latine.

" 1672.—July 13. Ordered, that Mr. Thurloe doe appoint fit persons to translate the Parliament's declaration into Latine, French, and Dutch.

" 1652.—July 26. Memorandum. Send to Mr. Dugard to speak with MR. MILTON, concerning the printing of the Declaration.

" Mem. Send to MR. MILTON the order, made on Lord's Day last was se'nnight, concerning Dr. Walker.

" 1652.—July 29. Ordered, that a copie of the Declaration of Parliament concerning the business of the Dutch, be sent to each of the Ambassadors and publique ministers in towne, alsoe to the publique ministers of this Commonwealth abroad.

" 1652.—Aug. 10. Ordered, that the paper now read, in answer to the paper of the Spanish Ambassador, be approved of, translated into Latin, and sent to the Lord Ambassador of Spain, by Sir Oliver Fleming.

" 1652.—October 1. Ordered, that the answer now read, to be given to the Danish Ambassadors from the Councill, be approved of; and that it be translated into Latine, and sent to the said Ambassador.

" 1652.—Oct. 7. Ordered, that the paper, this day given into the Councill by the Lord Ambassador from the King of Portugal, be translated by MR. MILTON into English, and brought into the Councill to-morrow afternoone.

" 1652.—Oct. 21. Ordered, that the paper now read, to be sent to the Portuguese Ambassador, bee approved of, bee translated into Latine, and carried to the said ambassador by Sir Oliver Fleming, master of the ceremonies.

" 1652.—Oct. 22. Ordered, that the paper signed by Mr. Speaker, to bee sent to the Dutch Ambassador, bee translated into Latine, and sent unto them by Sir Oliver Fleming.

1652.—Oct. 28. Ordered, that the paper now read to the Council, to be given into the Portugal Ambassadour tomorrow in the afternoon, by the Committee of the Council appointed to that purpose, be translated into Latine, and delivered by them to the said Ambassadour.

1652.—Nov. 3. Ordered, that the letter now read, which is to bee sent to the King of Denmark, be approved of and translated into Latine, and offered to Mr. Speaker, bee signed by him; and the Lord President desired to offer it to him.

"1652.—Nov. 19. Ordered, that the paper now read at the Council, in answer to the paper delivered into the Council from the Portugal Ambassadour, bee approved of and translated into Latine, and be delivered by the Committee to the Portugal Ambassadour.

"1652.—Dec. 1. Ordered, *that Mr. Milton be continued in the employment he had last yeare, and have the same allowance for it as he had the last yeare.*"

MILTON had now wholly lost his sight. Mr. Philip Meadows was appointed, in October, 1652, to assist him as Latin Secretary.

"1653.—Nov. 3. Ordered, *that Mr. John Milton doe remaine in the same capacity he was in to the last Council, and that he have the same allowance for it as formerly.*

"1653-4. Ordered, that Friday next, in the afternoon, be assigned for receiving from Mr. Secretary Thurloe, what he shall offer respecting an establishment of the clerks and officers to attend the Council.

"1653-4.—Feb. 3. According to an order of Wednesday last, Mr. Secretary Thurloe did this day present to the Council an establishment of under-clerks and officers, for attending and dispatch of the affairs of the Council, viz.

"Mr. Philip Meadows, Latin Secretary, at
per annum£200 0 0

1652.—Oct. 28. Ordered, that the paper now read to the Council, to be given into the Portugal Ambassadour tomorrow in the afternoon, by the Committee of the Council appointed to that purpose, be translated into Latine, and delivered by them to the said Ambassadour.

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"Mr. Philip Meadows, Latin Secretary, at
per annum £200 0 0

- "The Sergeant at Arms, at twenty shillings
per diem £365 0 0
"Mr. Gualter Frost, Treasurer to the Council's
contingencies, at per annum £400 0 0
"MR. MILTON. [No salary is specified.]
"Seven under-clerks, &c.

"1655.—April 17. *That the former yearly salary of Mr. John Milton, of two hundred eighty-eight pounds, &c. formerly charged in the Council's contingencies, be reduced to one hundred and fifty pounds per annum, and paid to him during his life, out of his Highness's Exchequer.*"

It was after this MILTON wrote the Letters of State in the name of the Protector, respecting the Duke of Savoy's persecution of the Waldenses. In 1657 the celebrated Andrew Marvell was associated with him in the office of Latin Secretary. His salary was the same as MILTON's.

The following order of Oliver Cromwell dated 1653-4 relates to the salaries of the servants of the Council. Among others, it is said, "*Mr. John Milton, for halfe a yeare, from 4th of July to the 1st of Jan. last inclusive, at 15s. 10d. per diem, £144. 9s. 3d.*"

1659.—Oct. 25. A similar warrant, after the death of the Protector, for the payment of the Council of State's contingencies, to the 22d Oct. 1659.

"At £200, per annum each.

"JOHN MILTON £86 12 0

"Andrew Marvell £86 12 0"

This accords with Philips's statement. "*A little before the king's coming over, he was sequestered from his office of Latin Secretary, and the salary thereunto belonging.*"

THE END.

